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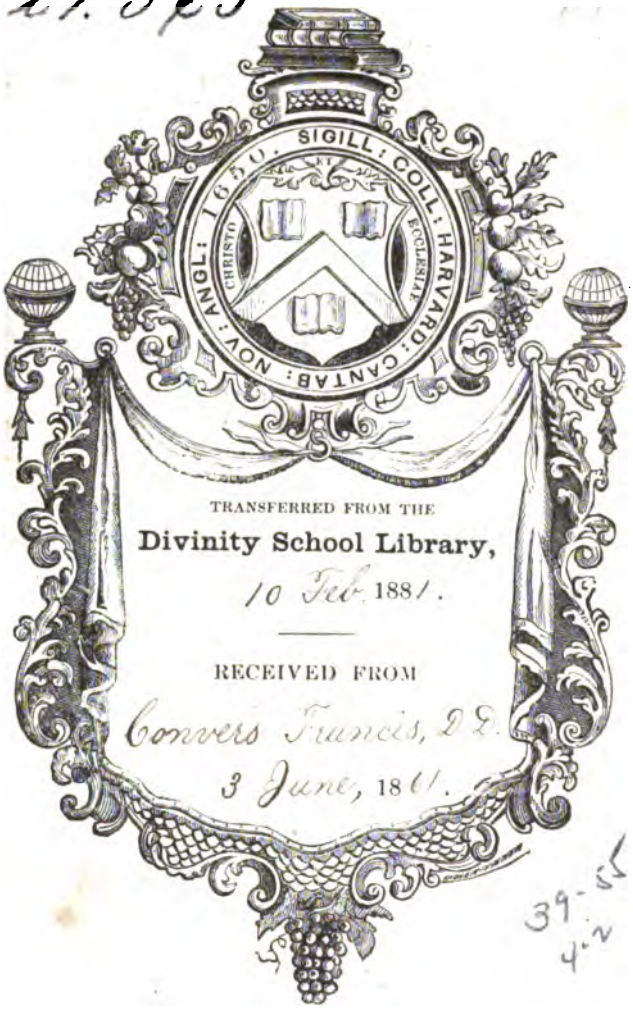

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THE WORKS

OF

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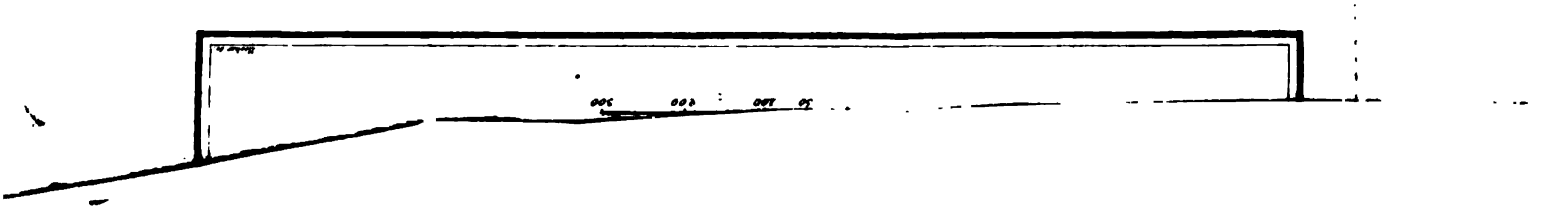

THE

WORKS

OF

CORNELIUS TACITUS:

WITH AN

ESSAY ON HIS LIFE AND GENIUS,

NOTES, SUPPLEMENTS, &c.

BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

Præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamiâ metus sit.

TACITUS, Annales, iii. s. 65.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK IV.

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tellius, they broke open every secret recess in quest of booty. Houses were pillaged, and all who attempted to resist died by the edge of the sword. The vile and indigent joined in the fray; slaves discovered the wealth of their masters; and numbers suffered by the treachery of their friends. The groans of despair were heard in every quarter, and Rome was filled with all the horrors of a city taken by storm. In comparison with the present barbarity, the people regretted the licentiousness of the Othonian and Vitellian soldiers. The leading chiefs, who had succeeded so well in kindling the flame of war, had now no authority to check the insolence of victory. In the hour of tumult and public distraction, the bold and desperate take the lead; peace and good order are the work of virtue and ability.

II. Domitian fixed his residence in the imperial palace, enjoying the name of Cæsar, but without aspiring to a share in the cares of government. Riot and debauchery gave the first impression of the emperor's son. The command of the prætorian bands was assigned to Arrius Varus, while the supreme authority rested with Antonius, who, in haste to enrich himself, seized the treasure and the slaves of the prince, as if they were the spoils of Cremona. The other officers, who, through their own moderation or want of spirit, were undistinguished during the war, remained in obscurity, unnoticed and unrewarded. The people, still in consternation, and ready to crouch in servitude, expressed their wishes that Lucius Vitellius, then advancing with

the cohorts from Terracina, might be intercepted on his march, in order, by that blow, to end the war. The cavalry was sent forward to Aricia (*a*), and the legions took their station at Bovillæ (*b*). But Lucius Vitellius was no longer disposed to maintain the conflict. He and his cohorts surrendered at discretion. The soldiers, abandoning an unfortunate cause, laid down their arms with indignation rather than fear. They entered the city of Rome in a long dismal procession, guarded on each side by a file of troops under arms. In their looks no sign of repentance, no dejected passion; they retained an air of ferocity, and heard the taunts of the vulgar with sullen contempt. A few broke from their ranks to repress the insolence of the populace, but were overpowered by numbers. The rest were secured in prison. Not a word escaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character. They were unfortunate, but still respected for their valour. Lucius Vitellius was put to death. In vice and profligacy he was equal to his brother; in vigour and industry his superior; by the splendour of success no way benefited; in the day of adversity, a sharer in the general ruin.

III. Campania was still in agitation. The disturbances in that country were not so much occasioned by a spirit of opposition to the new prince, as by the internal dissensions of the municipal cities, all at variance among themselves. To compose those differences, and restore public tranquillity, Lucilius Bassus (*a*) was dispatched with a party of light-

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armed cavalry. On the first appearance of a military force, a perfect calm succeeded. The cities of inferior note were treated with indulgence; but the third legion was stationed in winter quarters at Capua, in order to bridle the principal families, who, by consequence, felt the weight of oppresion. To the sufferers at Terracina no relief was extended; so true it is, that men are more willing to retaliate an injury than to requite an obligation (*b*): obligation implies a debt, which is a painful sensation; by a stroke of revenge something is thought to be gained. The people of Terracina saw the slave of Verginius Capito, who, as already mentioned, betrayed them to the enemy, hanging on a gibbet, with the rings on his fingers which he received from Vitellius as the reward of his perfidy. That act of justice was all that was done to assuage the sorrows of a city in distress.

At Rome, in the mean time, the senate, conceiving hopes of the new establishment, decreed to Vespasian all the honours which custom had hitherto granted to the reigning prince. The flame of war, which first broke out in Spain and Gaul, and, after spreading into Germany and Illyricum, blazed out in Egypt, Judæa, and Syria, involving the several provinces and armies of the empire, seemed at length, by a severe lustration, to have expiated the crimes of mankind. The joy, occasioned by that pleasing prospect, was heightened by letters from Vespasian, though, by the contents, it did not appear that he knew the issue of the war. As if that event had not yet reached his ear, he wrote in the

style and language of an emperor: of himself he spoke with moderation; of the commonwealth with pomp and dignity. Nor was the senate backward in demonstrations of obsequious duty. They decreed the consulship to Vespasian and his son Titus. Domitian was made (c) prætor with consular authority.

IV. Mucianus had also thought fit to write to the senate. His letters gave room for various reflections. Men observed, "If he was still a private "citizen, why aspire above his rank (a), and usurp "the prerogative of the sovereign? What he had to "communicate, might have been reserved till he "took his seat in the senate. His strain of invective "against Vitellius came too late, and, after that "emperor's death, gave no proof of ardour in the "cause of liberty. His vain-glorious boast, that, "having the sovereign power in his own disposal, "he resigned it to Vespasian, was deemed an insult "to the commonwealth, and, as far as it related to "the prince, highly arrogant." But the senate acted with dissimulation; they murmured in private, and spoke aloud the language of flattery. They decreed triumphal decorations to Mucianus, in fact for his conduct in the civil war; but his expedition against the Sarmatians (b) was the ostensible reason. The consular ornaments were voted to Antonius Primus, and the prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus.

The gratitude due to the gods was the next object of their care. They resolved to rebuild the capitol. The several motions were made by Valerius

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Asiaticus, consul elect. The fathers in general signified their assent by a nod of approbation, or by holding up their hands. A few, who valued themselves for their rank and dignity, or, by their eloquence, were able to give new graces to adulation, made elaborate speeches. Helvidius Priscus, prætor elect, delivered his sentiments in a manly strain. His speech was the panegyric of a virtuous prince, without a tincture of flattery. He was heard with applause by the whole assembly; and yet that day, so truly illustrious, may be called the first of his danger as well as glory.

V. As we shall have frequent occasion, in the course of our history, to speak of this excellent man (*a*), it may be proper in this place, to touch the features of his character, his conduct in life, and the fortune that attended him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal city of Terracina. His father, Cluvius, was a centurion of principal rank. Blessed with talents and an early genius, Helvidius applied himself to speculations of the sublimest kind; not with a design, as many have done, to grace a life of indolence with the name of abstract philosophy, but to bring with him into public business a mind provided with science, and prepared to meet every danger. He adopted the tenets of those philosophers who maintain that nothing can be deemed an evil but vice; and nothing a positive good, but what is fair and honourable; who place in the class of things indifferent all external advantages; and consider power, wealth, and nobility as foreign to the soul,

mere adventitious circumstances, in themselves equivocal, neither good nor evil. He had risen no higher than the quæstorian rank, when Pætus Thrasea (*b*) gave him his daughter in marriage. Of all the virtues of his father-in-law he imbibed none so deeply as the spirit of liberty, which animated that extraordinary man. He performed the relative duties of every station with the strictest attention; citizen, senator, husband, friend, and son-in-law, he discharged all parts with equal lustre; despising riches; in the cause of truth inflexible, and, when danger threatened, erect and firm.

VI. The love of fame was by some objected to him as his strongest motive, his ruling passion. But the love of fame, it should be remembered, is often the incentive of the wise and good, the great principle of the noble mind, and the last which it resigns (*a*). When his father-in-law fell a victim to his enemies, Helvidius was driven into exile; but, being afterwards recalled by Galba (*b*), he stood forth the accuser of Eprius Marcellus, the informer (*c*), who wrought the downfal of Pætus Thrasea. By that vindictive measure, as bold as it was just, the senate was divided into contending factions. The ruin of Marcellus, it was clearly seen, would draw after it the whole legion of informers. The cause, however, went on, supported on both sides with equal ardour and consummate eloquence. Galba balanced between the parties, and the leading senators interposed to end the contest. At their request, Helvidius desisted from the prosecution. His conduct, as usual,

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underwent various constructions; some commending the moderation of his temper, while others condemned him for his want of firmness. The day at length arrived, when the senate met (*d*) to confirm the imperial dignity to Vespasian. It was agreed that deputies should be sent to congratulate the prince on his accession. In the debate upon this occasion, a sharp conflict ensued between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus. The former proposed that the ambassadors should be named by magistrates sworn for the purpose. The latter was for drawing the names by lot, as had been proposed by Valerius Asiaticus, the consul elect, who first moved in the business.

VII. Marcellus contended the point with force and vehemence. If an open election took place, he dreaded the disgrace of being rejected. The dispute, at first, was carried on in short, but passionate, onsets; from altercation it rose to the form of regular speeches. "Why," said Helvidius, "does Marcellus decline the judgment of the magistrates? "the influence of wealth is on his side; the fame of "eloquence gives him great advantages; but, perhaps, the memory of his guilt is not yet effaced. "By drawing names out of an urn, no distinction of "character is made. The mode of open suffrages is "an appeal to the judgment of the senate, and, in "that way of proceeding, the fame and morals of "men are brought to the test. It is for the interest "of the community, and the honour of the prince, "that such as approach him on so important an

"event should be chosen with discrimination, men "of fair integrity, who are known to carry with them "sentiments and principles worthy of the imperial "ear. Vespasian had been, heretofore, in habits of "friendship with Thrasea, with Soranus, and Sen-"tius; (*a*) and if the informers who ruined those "excellent men are not to suffer the punishment "due to their crimes, let them not expect, in the "opening of a new reign, to play the first characters "in the state. By the choice of the senate, the prince "would see a line of distinction between the men "whom he may safely trust, and such as deserve to "be removed for ever from his presence. Virtuous "friends are the true support of an upright govern-"ment. Marcellus may rest satisfied with the ex-"ploits of his life: he incited Nero to the murder of "the most illustrious citizens; that was his victory; "let him enjoy the rewards of his guilt; let him "triumph with impunity; but let him leave Vespa-"sian to better men than himself."

VIII. Marcellus observed in reply, "that the "motion, which was opposed with so much warmth, "did not originate with himself. It was proposed "by the consul elect, in conformity to ancient pre-"cedents (*a*), by which, to prevent intrigue and "cabal, the choice of ambassadors had been wisely "left to be decided by lot. And is there now any "reason to warrant a departure from a system so "long established, with intent, under colour of doing "honour to the prince, to give a stab to the character "of individuals? To pay due homage to the prince,

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"was competent to all without distinction. The "danger to be apprehended at present, is, that by "the sullen humour of discontented men, an im-"pression may be made on the mind of an emperor, "new to the cares of state, and for that reason jea-"lous of all, balancing their words, and forming a "judgment of their looks and most frivolous actions. "For himself, he knew the temper of the times in "which he lived, nor was he a stranger to the form "of government established by the old republic: he "admired the past, and submitted to the present "system, wishing, at all times, for a race of virtuous "princes, but willing to acquiesce under the worst. "The fall of Thrasea could not, with any colour of "reason, be imputed to him (*b*): the fathers heard "the cause, and pronounced judgment against him. "Nero, it was well known, amused mankind with a "show of justice, while, under the forms of law, he "practised the most unrelenting cruelty. Nor did "others suffer more by the pains and penalties of "exile than he himself had felt from the dangerous "friendship of that emperor. Let Helvidius, if he "will have it so, be ranked with Cato and with "Brutus; in courage and unshaken fortitude let him "rival those exalted worthies: for himself, he pre-"tended to be no more than one of that very senate, "which submitted with passive obedience to the "reigning prince. But, if he might presume to ad-"vise Helvidius, he would caution him not to aspire "above his sovereign, nor affect, with airs of supe-"rior wisdom, to give dogmatical lessons to a prince "advanced in years, who had gained triumphal ho-

"nours, and was the father of two princes flourish-
"ing in the prime of life. For though it be true,
"that despotic power is the constant aim of the worst
"princes; it is equally true, that liberty, without due
"limitations, is never agreeable even to the best."
Such were the arguments urged on both sides. The fathers heard the debate with divided sentiments. The party that inclined to the old practice of drawing the names by lot, prevailed in the end, supported, as they were by the most illustrious members, who foresaw the danger of giving umbrage to numbers, if the choice was decided by a majority of voices.

IX. This debate was followed by another no less warm and spirited. The prætors, who at that time conducted the department of the treasury (*a*), after giving a gloomy picture of the distress and poverty of the state, proposed a plan of public economy. The consul elect opposed the motion. The business, he said, was in itself of so much magnitude, and the remedy so nice and difficult, that the question ought to be reserved for the consideration of the prince. Helvidius Priscus was of a contrary opinion. To make new regulations, he contended, was the duty and the province of the senate. The consuls put the question, and were proceeding to collect the votes, when Volcatius Tertullinus, a tribune of the people, interposed his authority, that in so arduous a business nothing might be determined in the absence of the emperor. Helvidius had moved another resolution, importing that the capitol should be rebuilt by the public, with the voluntary aid of Ves-

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pasian. No debate ensued. Men of moderation wished to give their silent negative, and consign the motion to oblivion: but certain busy memories hoarded it up for a future day (*b*).

X. Musonius Rufus (*a*) took this opportunity to fall on Publius Celer (*b*), whom he charged with having, by false testimony, taken away the life of Bareas Soranus (*c*). A prosecution of this kind tended to revive the resentments of the public against the whole race of informers; but an offender so vile, and so detested, could not be screened from justice. The memory of Soranus was held in veneration, and in the conduct of Celer there were circumstances that aggravated his crime. Professing to be a teacher of wisdom and philosophy, he took up the trade of an informer. He affected to explain the laws of friendship, and, in open violation of his own rules, became a traitor to the pupil whom it was his duty to protect. The cause was appointed to be heard at the next meeting of the senate. In the mean time the minds of men were eager with expectation, not only to see Musonius and Publius Celer engaged in a public controversy, but also to behold Helvidius Priscus returning to the charge against Eprius Marcellus, and the rest of that detested crew.

XI. In this distracted state of affairs, when the senate was divided into factions; when a ruined party still breathed resentment, and the conquerors were without authority; when no law was in force, and

no sovereign at the head of the government; Mucianus entered the city, and soon engrossed into his own hands the whole power of the state. The influence of Antonius, with that of Arrius Varus, vanished at once. Mucianus, harbouring secret animosity, amused them with a specious show of friendship; but a fair face could not disguise the malice of his heart. The people of Rome, ever quick to discern the spirit of parties, transferred their homage to Mucianus. He was now the rising sun. All degrees and ranks of men paid court to him alone. Mucianus, on his part, omitted nothing that could add to the grandeur of his appearance. He appeared in public attended by guards; he removed from one palace to another, and resorted to different gardens: his train, his equipage, and his pompous display, announced the ambition of the man. He assumed the majesty of the empire, renouncing the title only. His first act of power struck a general terror. He ordered Calpurnius Galerianus (*a*) to be put to death. The unfortunate victim was the son of Caius Piso. His popularity, his youth, and the graces of his person, were his only crimes. In a city like Rome, still in agitation, prone to change, and listening with greedy ears to every rumour, Calpurnius was marked out, by the discourse of shallow politicians, as a person likely to succeed to the sovereign power. By order of Mucianus he was taken into custody, and, under a military guard, conveyed to a place forty miles distant on the Appian road. His veins were there opened, and he bled to death. Mucianus did not choose to hazard so tragical a scene

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in the city of Rome. Julius Priscus, who commanded the prætorian bands under Vitellius, without any urgent necessity, but conscious of various iniquities, dispatched himself with his own hand. Alphenus Varus preferred a life of disgrace and infamy. Asiaticus, the freedman (*b*), suffered the punishment of common slaves, and, by that ignominious end, made atonement for the abuse of his ill-gotten power.

XII. About this period, the report which had prevailed for some time, of a dreadful defeat in Germany, was confirmed by fresh advices. The news made no impression at Rome. Men talked with calm indifference of the revolt of the provinces in Gaul, of the slaughter of armies, and of legions stormed in their winter-quarters. Distant events were not considered as calamities. The flame of war being kindled in Germany, the occasion requires that we here explain the causes of that convulsion, which involved the allies of Rome, and armed whole nations of barbarians against the Roman empire.

The Batavians (*a*), while they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the people called the Cattians. Driven from their native country by intestine commotions, they settled on a waste tract of land bordering on the confines of Gaul, and, at the same time, took possession of an island washed at the northern extremity by the ocean, and at the back, and on both sides, by the two branches of the Rhine. They formed a treaty of alliance with the Romans, and did not suffer by their friendship. A supply of

men and arms was the whole of their contribution. In the wars in Germany they learned to be soldiers. They passed afterwards into Britain (*b*), under the command of their own chiefs (according to their peculiar custom), and added new laurels to their former fame. In their own country they maintained a chosen body of cavalry, so expert in the art of swimming, that, in whole squadrons, incumbered with their arms, and moving in regular order, they could dash across the current of the Rhine.

XIII. The leading chieftains of the nation were Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis (*a*), both of royal descent. The former under a false charge of rebellion, was put to death by Fonteius Capito. Civilis was sent in irons to be disposed of by Nero: Galba released him from his fetters. Under Vitellius, he was again in danger from the fury of the Roman soldiers, who called aloud for his execution. Hence his hatred of the Roman name, and his hopes of success founded on the distractions of the empire. Disfigured by the loss of an eye, he took occasion from that blemish to call himself a second Sertorius (*b*), or another Hannibal. Politic beyond the reach of barbarians, he wished to avoid an open rupture with Rome, and, to that end, affected to espouse the cause of Vespasian. To this conduct some colour was given by the letters which he received from Antonius, directing him to make a diversion in Germany, in order to prevent the succour of the legions expected by Vitellius. Hordeonius Flaccus gave the same order in person. That

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general was a friend to Vespasian's cause, but chiefly zealous in the cause of his country. If such prodigious numbers made an irruption into Italy, he trembled for the fate of the empire.

XIV. Civilis had taken his resolution to throw off the yoke. With a bold, but concealed, plan of ambition, he looked forward to future contingencies, and took his measures in the following manner. By order of Vitellius, new levies were to be made, and the youth of Batavia was to be called out. This expedient, harsh in itself, was rendered still more so by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers. By their direction the aged and infirm were pressed into the service, in order to extort from them a stipulated price for their dismission. Boys of tender years, but advanced in their growth (as is generally the case in that country), were dragged away to gratify the criminal passions of their masters. Hence murmurs, jealousies, and grievous complaints. The leaders of the conspiracy saw their opportunity, and by their advice, the people refused to be enrolled. Civilis, under the pretext of a convivial meeting, drew together the prime nobility, and the bravest of the nation, to a banquet (*a*) in a sacred grove. At a late hour, when wine and midnight revelry had inflamed their spirits, he took occasion to expatiate on the fame and military exploits of the Batavians, artfully making a transition to the sufferings of his countrymen, the depredations of the Romans, and the cruel tyranny under which the nation groaned. "Rome," he said, "no longer treats us

"as allies and friends: we are reduced to the vilest "bondage. The commanders of legions were wont "to come among us with their train of attendants, "always a grievous burthen; but even that honour "is now withheld. We are turned over to centu-"rions and subaltern officers. Those petty tyrants "are no sooner enriched with plunder, and pam-"pered with our blood, than they are recalled, to "make way for new oppressors. Rapacity follows "in succession; and, to varnish their guilt, new ex-"pedients are found, and new names for extortion. "A project is now on foot to recruit their armies, "and, for that purpose, the country must be drained "of inhabitants; sons must be torn from their "parents, and brothers from their brothers. And "yet the Romans were never, at any period, in so "feeble a condition. Behold their winter-quarters: "besides their old men, and their stores of plunder: "what have they to exhibit to our view? Dare to "lift your eyes, and you will see the phantom of an "army, mere nominal legions. Our forces are in "vigour: we have both infantry and cavalry: the "Germans are our kinsmen; the Gauls think as we "do; and even the Romans themselves invite us to "the war. If we fail, our zeal for Vespasian will "plead our excuse; if we succeed, victory gives no "account of her actions."

XV. This speech was received with shouts of approbation. Civilis, taking advantage of the impression he had made, bound them all in a solemn league, with oaths and imprecations, according to

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their ships, which, after setting fire to the forts and castles, had been collected together, advanced up the river to second the operations of the army. A battle ensued, and had not lasted long, when a cohort of Tungrians, with their ensigns displayed, went over to Civilis. By this unexpected treachery the Roman army was thrown into confusion. The soldiers found themselves beset on every side. They were slaughtered by their friends and enemies. Nor did the fleet behave with more fidelity. Numbers of the men at the oars were Batavians: they began, as it were through ignorance and want of skill, to counteract the mariners and sailors, till, at length, turning the prows of the vessels, they bore away to the opposite shore. The pilots and centurions who dared to oppose them, were put to death; and thus the whole fleet, to the number of four-and-twenty ships, was either taken, or went over to the enemy.

XVII. This victory was splendid, and at the same time brought with it solid advantages. The Batavians were in want of arms and shipping, and they were now supplied with both. Their fame resounded throughout Gaul and Germany. Both nations honoured them as the assertors of public liberty. The Germans, by their ambassadors, offered to espouse their cause, and the Gauls were already inclined to join the confederacy. Civilis had the address to allure that nation to his interest. To such of their officers as were taken prisoners he granted liberty to return to their native country, and the

cohorts had their option either to depart, or to join the victorious army. Those who remained were employed honourably in the service, and such as preferred their dismission went off loaded with the spoils of the Romans. Before their departure, Civilis laboured, in secret conferences, to inflame their indignation. "Call to mind," he said, "the miseries "which you have endured for a series of years. "Your condition, during that period, was a state of "bondage, and you gave it the name of peace. "The Batavians were exempt from taxes and tri-"butes, and yet they took up arms against the op-"pressors of mankind. In the first engagement, the "Romans fled before the sons of freedom. Let the "Gauls shake off the yoke, and what must be the "consequence? The resources of Italy are exhaust-"ed. It is by the blood of the provinces that the "provinces have been wrested from us. For the "defeat of Vindex (*a*) the Romans have no reason "to triumph. That victory was gained by the Bata-"vian cavalry: by them the Æduans and Arver-"nians were put to the rout. Among the auxilia-"ries led by Verginius on that occasion, the Belgic "Gauls were his strongest force. Gaul, it may be "truly said, was conquered by herself. At present, "one common interest unites us all, and we have "this further advantage; whatever of useful disci-"pline was to be found in the Roman camps, we "have made that our own. Their military skill is "on our side. The veteran cohorts, before whom "Otho's legions were obliged to fly, have declared "for us. Syria and Asia, and the oriental nations

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"may, if they will, bow down in slavery, and stretch "their necks to the yoke: under their own despotic "kings they have been taught to crouch in bondage. "In Gaul there are men still living, who were born "in freedom, before tributes (*b*), imposts, and other "badges of Roman tyranny were invented. By the "overthrow of Varus and his legions slavery was "driven out of Germany. In that juncture, it was "not with a Vitellius that the assertors of freedom "were to contend: the struggle was with Augustus "Cæsar. Against that emperor the Germans fought "for liberty, that best gift, dealt out by the impar-"tial hand of nature, even to the brute creation. Man "has the addition of courage and virtue to defend "his rights; and all who have the fortitude to stand "forth in that glorious cause, are sure to be favour-"ed by the gods. Let us rise at once, and, sword "in hand, attack a people weakened by their own "divisions. Our strength is unimpaired; the Romans "are exhausted; they are divided between Vespa-"sian and Vitellius; and, while they are fighting for "a master, they offer themselves to the just ven-"geance of an injured people."

XVIII. While Civilis, in this manner, endeavoured to rouse the states of Gaul and Germany, the ambition of that politic warrior inspired all his measures. If his project succeeded, he thought of nothing less than making himself king of those rich and powerful nations. Hordeonius Flaccus affected, for some time, to have no suspicion of Civilis. He soon, however, received intelligence that the camp

was taken by storm, the cohorts put to the sword, and the Roman name exterminated from the Isle of Batavia. In this alarming crisis, he ordered Mummius Lupercus, with two legions, then under his command in winter quarters, to march against the enemy. That officer obeyed with prompt alacrity. With the forces in his camp, with the Ubians, who were near at hand, and the Treverian cavalry, drawn from an inconsiderable distance, he passed over into the island. He added to his army a squadron of Batavian horse, already corrupted by the wily arts of Civilis. These men made a show of zeal in the service of the Romans, to the end that, on the day of battle, they might enhance the value of their treachery. Civilis prepared to receive the enemy. Near his person he displayed the banners taken from the vanquished cohorts, that the sight of those glorious trophies might inspire his troops with ardour, and depress a conquered enemy by the recollection of their late calamity. In the rear he placed his mother and his sisters, with the wives and children of the soldiers, that they might there inflame the ardour of the combatants, and, by their reproaches, prevent an ignominious flight. The field resounded with the war-song of the soldiers, and the savage howlings of the women. The Romans returned a feeble shout. The Batavian cavalry went over to their countrymen, and by that desertion the left wing of the Roman army was exposed to the enemy. The legionary soldiers, though pressed on every side, preserved their ranks, and showed an intrepid countenance. The Ubian and Treverian auxiliaries fled with pre-

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cipitation. The Germans pursued them with determined fury. The legions, in the mean time, seized the opportunity, and retreated in good order to the station known by the name of VETERA, or the old camp (*a*). After this victory, a struggle for power and pre-eminence broke out between Civilis and Claudius Labeo, who commanded the Batavian cavalry. Civilis did not judge it safe to put his rival to death: an act of violence might provoke the popular hatred; and yet, if he suffered him to remain with the army, internal discord might be productive of quarrels and confusion. Labeo was removed to the country of the Frisians.

XIX. Such was the posture of affairs when the Caninefates and a detachment of Batavian cohorts, by order of Vitellius, set out on their march for Rome. A messenger dispatched by Civilis overtook them with the news of his victory. The intelligence filled the soldiers with arrogance and ferocity. They demanded a recompense for their march, the donative promised by Vitellius, with double pay, and an augmentation of their cavalry. In making these demands, they had no hopes of success; a pretext for sedition was all they wanted. Hordeonius Flaccus yielded in several instances; but his concessions provoked ulterior demands, which the men knew would not be granted. At length, throwing aside all respect for the general, they resolved to join Civilis, and accordingly bent their course towards the Lower Germany. Flaccus called a council of the tribunes and centurions, to deliberate whether it were expe-

dient to reduce the mutineers by force of arms. His natural timidity returned upon him, and his officers had no resolution. They suspected the fidelity of the auxiliary forces, and knew besides, that the legions were chiefly filled with raw recruits. Flaccus resolved to keep his men within their entrenchments; but he resolved without decision, and the next moment repented. The very officers who advised the measure were the first to condemn it. The general sent off dispatches to Herenius Gallus, then at the head of the first legion stationed at Bonn (*a*), with orders to oppose the march of the Batavians, while he himself with his whole army hung upon their rear. The plan was, no doubt, well concerted. Had both generals advanced with their troops, the revolters must have been hemmed in, and cut to pieces. Flaccus once more changed his mind. In a second letter to Gallus, he directed that officer not to obstruct the Batavians in their march. By this fluctuation of counsels, both the generals were brought under a cloud of suspicion. The war and all its consequences were imputed, not to the inactive spirit of the soldiers, nor yet to the superior bravery of the insurgents, but to the perfidy of the commanding officers.

XX. The Batavians, as soon as they drew near to the camp at Bonn, sent a message to Herennius Gallus, importing, " that they had no hostile design. " They had often fought for the Romans, and did not " mean to make war against them. Worn out in a " long and painful service, they desired nothing but

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"a retreat from labour in their native country. Their "march, if not obstructed, would leave behind no "trace of mischief; but if their passage was dis-"puted, they were determined to cut their way "sword in hand." The Roman general was staggered by these menaces; but his soldiers, eager for action, obliged him to hazard a battle. The whole army rushed out at the several gates of the camp, in number three thousand legionary soldiers, some Belgic cohorts raised by sudden levies, and a large body of peasants, and followers of the camp, an undisciplined band, before the onset brave and insolent, and in the heat of action the first to betake themselves to flight. The Romans hoped to surround an enemy whom they knew to be inferior in number. The Batavians, whom a life of warfare had made soldiers, formed their ranks with skill; the front, the flanks, and the rear, prepared to meet the enemy. The Roman lines were too much extended into length. The Batavians attacked with fury, and soon broke through the ranks. The Belgic cohorts gave way on the first impression. The rout of the legions followed. All endeavoured to regain their camp. In the entrenchments a dreadful slaughter followed. The fosse was filled with mangled bodies, nor was the havoc made by the Batavians only: numbers, in that wild confusion, perished by the hands of their comrades. The conquerors pursued their march, avoiding the road to the Agrippinian colony, and, during the rest of their way, committed no act of hostility. They even endeavoured to exculpate themselves from all imputation in their late encounter at

Bonn, alleging that they were, on that occasion, under the necessity of acting on the defensive, when peace was humbly offered, and haughtily refused.

XXI. Civilis, being now reinforced by these veteran cohorts, found himself at the head of a regular army. His resolution, notwithstanding, began to falter. The weight and power of the Romans presented themselves to his mind; he balanced all consequences, and, still remaining indecisive, judged it best to save appearances by making his whole army take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. He also sent a deputation to the two legions, which after their late defeat retired to the old camp, inviting them to follow his example, and acknowledge the title of the new emperor. The legions returned for answer, "that it was not their custom to adopt the counsels "of an enemy, much less of a traitor. Vitellius was "their sovereign, and in his cause they would stand "firm to the last. It was not for a deserter, a Batavian fugitive, to assume the style and character of "an arbiter in the affairs of Rome. The punishment "due to his crimes was what he had to expect." Enraged by this reply, Civilis roused the whole Batavian nation. The Bructerians and Tencterians (*a*) entered into the league, and by agents, dispatched for the purpose, all Germany was invited to share in the spoil and glory of the conquest.

XXII. Mummius Lupercus and Numisius Rufus, the two Roman generals, saw a storm gathering

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round them, and, to maintain their post against the combined forces of the enemy, began to strengthen the fortifications of the old camp. A number of buildings, during a long peace, had been erected near the entrenchments, so thick as to resemble a municipal town; but, in time of war, they might favour the approach of an enemy, and, for that reason, were levelled to the ground. But a sufficient store of provisions was not laid up in the camp. The soldiers were permitted to seize the whole stock, as lawful plunder: and, by consequence, that which might have held out for a considerable time, was in a few days entirely consumed. Civilis advanced with the main body of his army. He commanded the centre in person, at the head of the select Batavian forces. To strike the Romans with terror, he lined both banks of the Rhine with battalions of Germans, and ordered the cavalry to scour the country round. His fleet, at the same time, advanced against the current. To increase the pomp and terror of the war, the colours taken from the cohorts were displayed to view, and the images of wild beasts (*a*) were brought forth from the sacred groves, according to the custom of those barbarous nations rushing to a battle. The besieged saw the appearance of a civil and a foreign war upon their hands at once. The extent of the entrenchments, designed at first for the reception of two legions, and now defended by scarce five thousand men, inspired the barbarians with hope and courage. It is true, that within the lines there was a numerous body of sutlers and followers of the army, who, on

the first alarm, had fled to the camp for protection, and from those men some kind of service was expected.

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XXIII. The camp stood partly on the side of a hill, that rose with a gentle acclivity, and partly on the level plain; originally the design of Augustus Cæsar, who had conceived, that the legions, stationed there in winter quarters, would be able to bridle both the Germanies. That emperor did not foresee the time when the barbarians would dare to seek the legions in their entrenchments. It followed, by consequence, that no pains were employed to add to the natural strength of the place: no works were thrown up to secure the ramparts; courage and military discipline were deemed a sufficient bulwark. The Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, did not advance to the attack in one united body. Jealous of their national honour, and eager to distinguish themselves by brave exploit, the several nations formed their lines in separate divisions. The assault began with missive weapons lanced at a distance; but no impression was made. The darts hung without effect upon the towers and pinnacles of the walls, while the discharge of stones from the fortifications overwhelmed all beneath. The barbarians resolved to storm the works. They rushed to the attack, rending the air with wild and furious howlings; they advanced their scaling ladders, and formed a military shell. Some boldly gained the top of the parapet, but were driven back at the point of the sword, or beat down with bucklers. As they fell,

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numbers were crushed with stakes and javelins. Their own impetuous fury hurried them into danger. Encouraged by their former success, and sure of victory, they rushed on to the assault with that undaunted courage with which the thirst of prey inspires the minds of barbarians. Under every disadvantage they still thought of plunder. They attempted, for the first time, to make use of battering engines, but without sufficient skill. They were taught by prisoners and deserters to raise, with rude materials, a platform, in the shape of a bridge, and to move it forward upon wheels. From the top of the arch, as from a rampart, some were able to annoy the besieged, while others, under cover, endeavoured to sap the walls. But the weight of stones discharged from the engines of the Romans broke down and crushed the enormous fabric. The Batavians, however, did not desist. They began to prepare penthouses, and to form a covered way with hurdles. The besieged attacked them with a volley of flaming javelins, and poured such an incessant fire, that the assailants were on every side enveloped by the flames. In despair of carrying the works by force, they turned their thoughts to a regular blockade. They knew that the besieged had but a scanty store of provisions, by no means equal to the subsistence of a vast unwarlike multitude. Famine, they had no doubt, would conspire with the natural treachery of the slaves to kindle the flame of sedition in the camp. They relied, besides, on the unforeseen events of war, and had no doubt of being, in a short time, masters of the place.

XXIV. Hordeonius Flaccus, having received intelligence that the old camp was invested, sent dispatches into Gaul for a reinforcement, and ordered Dillius Vocula, who commanded the eighteenth legion, to proceed, at the head of a chosen detachment, by rapid marches along the banks of the Rhine; while he himself, disabled by bodily infirmity, and detested by his men, sailed down the river, to follow the motions of the army. The complaints of the soldiers against their general were loud and violent. "It was by his connivance that the Batavian cohorts departed from Magontiacum; he was "blind, or pretended to be so, to the machinations of "Civilis; and he wilfully suffered the German nations "to be drawn into the revolt. Neither Antonius "Primus, nor Mucianus, by their vigour and activity, so effectually served the interest of Vespasian. Open hostility declares itself at once, and "men are on their guard: fraud works in secret, and "the blow, because concealed, is not easily warded "off. Civilis has thrown off the mask; above disguise, "an open enemy, he heads his army in the field. "Hordeonius Flaccus wages war in his chamber; he "gives his orders in bed, and favours the operations "of the enemy. And shall so many brave and warlike soldiers languish under a wretched valetudinarian? a superannuated general? Better to strike "at once, and, by the death of a traitor, deliver the "army from an impotent chief, under whose inauspicious banners they had nothing to expect but disgrace and ruin." While by these and such like discourses the minds of the legions kindled to a blaze,

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letters from Vespasian added fuel to the flame. The receipt of those letters could not be concealed from the army. Flaccus, for that reason, read them to a full assembly of the soldiers, and sent the messengers bound in chains to Vitellius.

XXV. That proceeding had its effect: the men were pacified, and soon after arrived at Bonn, the winter-station of the first legion. The soldiers at that place were still more enraged against the general. To his misconduct they imputed their late defeat. "By his order they marched out to offer battle to the Batavians, expecting, while they engaged the enemy in front, that the troops from Magontiacum were to fall upon the rear. But no succours arrived; the men fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the general. The other armies, wherever stationed, were kept in ignorance of all that passed, nor was any account transmitted to Vitellius. And yet it was evident, that, by the vigorous efforts of the adjoining provinces, the rebellion might have been crushed in the bud." To appease these discontents, Flaccus produced, and read, in the presence of the army, copies of the several letters by which he had endeavoured to obtain succours from Britain, Spain, and Gaul. He descended to other compliances still more pernicious and disgraceful. He established a new rule, by which it was settled, that, for the future, all letters should be delivered to the eagle-bearers of the legions, to be by them communicated to the soldiers, before they underwent the inspection of

the general officers. He then ordered one of the mutineers to be loaded with irons; not that the man was the only incendiary, but the general meant, by that act to retain some shadow of authority. From Bonn the army proceeded to the Agrippinian colony. At that place they were joined by numerous succours that came pouring in from Gaul, where, in the beginning of the troubles, the people still adhered to the interest of Rome. But, in a short time afterwards, when they saw the efforts of the Germans crowned with success, the different states of that country had recourse to arms, determined to recover their liberty, and, if the enterprise succeeded, with the ambitious design of imposing upon others the yoke which they shook off from their own shoulders. The fury of the legions was far from being appeased. The example of a single offender bound in chains made no impression. That very man was hardy enough to turn his own particular case into an argument against his general. He had been, he said, the confidential messenger between Flaccus and Civilis; and now, to hinder the truth from being brought to light, his testimony was to be suppressed by an unjust and cruel sentence. The wickedness of this incendiary roused the indignation of Vocula. That spirited officer mounted the tribunal with a firmness that struck a general awe. He ordered the miscreant to be seized, and, notwithstanding the violence of his shrieks, sent him to instant execution. The seditious were overawed, and the well-disposed obeyed with alacrity. Vocula was now the favourite of the army. The soldiers, with

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one voice, insisted that he should be their general, and Flaccus resigned the command.

XXVI. The minds of the soldiers were still in agitation, and various causes conspired to inflame their discontents. Their pay was in arrear; provisions were scarce; the Gauls were not in a temper to pay their tribute, or to furnish supplies of men; the Rhine, by a long course of dry weather, almost unknown in that climate, was sunk so low as to be hardly navigable; supplies for the army were conveyed with difficulty; to hinder the Germans from fording over, a chain of posts was necessary on the banks of the river; and, by consequence, there was a dearth of grain, and many mouths to demand it. With vulgar minds, the shallowness of the stream passed for a prodigy. According to their interpretation, the very rivers deserted the Romans, and the ancient boundaries of the empire disappeared. That, which in time of peace (*a*) would have been no more than the effect of natural causes, was now called fate, and the wrath of the gods. The army marched to Novesium (*b*), and was there joined by the thirteenth legion under the command of Herennius Gallus, who was now associated with Vocula. The two generals were not inclined to seek the enemy. They pitched their camp at a place called Gelduba (*c*), and, to keep their men in exercise, employed them in forming the line of battle, in digging trenches, throwing up ramparts, and other military works. To give them an opportunity to plunder, and by that incentive to animate

their courage, Vocula marched with the main body into the territory of the Gugernians (*d*), a people leagued with Civilis. Gallus, in the mean time, with part of the troops, kept possession of the camp.

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XXVII. It happened that a barge, laden with grain, was stranded in a shallow part of the river, at a small distance from the camp. The Germans exerted themselves to draw the vessel to their own bank. Gallus dispatched a cohort to prevent the disgrace. The Germans poured down in greater numbers: succours arrived on both sides: an engagement followed. The Germans, after making a prodigious slaughter, secured the vessel. The Romans imputed their defeat not to their own want of valour, but to the treachery of the general. This, in all calamities, was the constant language of the army. The soldiers in their fury dragged Gallus out of his tent; they tore his clothes, and fell on him with blows, demanding who were the accomplices combined with him to betray the army? and what was the price of his perfidy? Their rage against Hordeonius Flaccus broke out again with increasing violence. He was the author of the crime, and Gallus was an instrument in his hands. In this extremity, to deliver himself from instant death, the general was obliged to yield to the passions of the men, and give his testimony against Hordeonius Flaccus. He was, notwithstanding, loaded with fetters, and not released till Vocula returned to the camp. That general, on the following day, ordered the ringleaders of the mutiny to be put to death. Such was the wonderful

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diversity of temper that showed itself in that army; at one moment rage and madness, and, in quick succession, patience and resignation. The common men beyond all doubt, were devoted to Vitellius, while the most distinguished officers inclined to Vespasian. Hence that astonishing medley of guilt and punishment, of dutiful behaviour and savage ferocity. The men were unwilling to be governed, and yet submitted to correction.

XXVIII Civilis, in the mean time, grew every day more formidable. All Germany espoused his cause, and succours arrived from every quarter. The states beyond the Rhine delivered their prime nobility as hostages to bind the league in closer union. Civilis issued his orders, that the confederates, who lay contiguous to the Ubians (*a*) and Treverians, should harass the people by frequent incursions, and carry slaughter and devastation through their country. At the same time, he gave directions that a strong party should pass over the Meuse, to invade the Menapians (*b*), the Morinians, and the frontiers of Gaul. The soldiers in every quarter were enriched with plunder. The Ubians, in particular, felt the vengeance of the ravaging parties. Though they were originally of German extraction, they had renounced their country, and, proud of a Roman name, styled themselves the Agrippinian colony. Their cohorts, posted at a distance from the Rhine, and in that station thinking themselves secure, were surprised at the town of Marcodurum (*c*), and cut to pieces. The Ubians, in their turn, penetrated into

Germany, and at first committed depredations with impunity, till, in the end, they were overpowered by superior numbers. Through the whole of the war their fidelity to Rome was unshaken; but a train of misfortunes was their only recompense. Flushed with success, and pleased with the defeat of the Ubians, Civilis pressed the siege of the old camp with the utmost vigour. His first care was to cut off all communication, that no intelligence of intended succours might reach the garrison. The management of the battering engines and other warlike preparations he left to the Batavians; and seeing that the forces from beyond the Rhine were eager for action, he ordered them to advance to the entrenchments, and by a sudden assault to force the works. They were repulsed, and by his order returned to the charge. In so numerous an army men might be sacrificed, and yet the loss not be felt.

XXIX. The night afforded no pause from the attack. The barbarians set fire to the clumps of wood, which they had ranged along the entrenchments, and betook themselves to feasting and revelry. Growing warm with liquor, they rushed with headlong fury to assault the works. Their darts were thrown at an enemy safe in obscurity, while the Romans were enabled by the glaring fires to view the scene of action, and take aim at the combatants, who made themselves conspicuous by their valour or the splendour of their arms. Civilis saw the disadvantage, and ordered the fires to be extinguished. Confusion, darkness, and wild uproar followed. Dissonant shouts were heard; random blows were given;

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chance directed, and none could see where to press or avoid the enemy. Where a noise was loudest, they faced about to that quarter, and discharged their weapons in the dark. Valour was undistinguished, and the bravest often fell by the hand of the coward. The Germans fought with the rage of madmen; the Romans with their usual discretion, like soldiers inured to danger. Their poles pointed with iron were never darted at random, nor did they discharge their massy stones without being sure of their effect. Whenever they heard the barbarians sapping the foundation of the walls, or found their scaling-ladders applied to the ramparts, they made sure of their blow, and with their bucklers or their javelins drove the assailants headlong down the steep. Some gained the summit of the walls, and perished on the spot. The night passed in this manner, and the day brought on a new mode of attack.

XXX. A tower, with two floors for the soldiers, had been constructed by the barbarians. With this huge machine they now advanced against the works at the prætorian gate (*a*), the ground on that side of the camp being smooth and level. The Romans directed their strong beams and other instruments with so much force, that the whole structure was crushed to pieces, and the soldiers who had been posted in the galleries, lay buried under the ruins. In that moment the besieged made a successful sally. The legionary soldiers, in the mean time, framed with skill a number of new machines. One, in particular, struck the enemy with terror and

amazement. This was so constructed (*b*), that an arm, projecting from the top, waved over the heads of the barbarians, till, being suddenly let down, it caught hold of the combatants, and, springing back with sudden elasticity, carried them up in the air, in the view of the astonished Germans, and, turning round with rapidity, threw them headlong into the camp. Civilis found himself baffled in every attempt. He despaired of carrying the place by storm, and once more turned the siege into a close blockade; in the mean time tampering with the garrison, and, by false intelligence as well as ample promises endeavouring to seduce the men from their duty.

XXXI. The transactions, which we have here related, happened in Germany before the battle of Cremona (*a*). The first account of the victory at that place was sent by Antonius Primus, with Cæcina's proclamation annexed to his letters. The news was further confirmed by Alpinus Montanus, the commander of one of the vanquished cohorts, who, after the defeat, made the best of his way into Germany. By this event the minds of the Roman army were thrown into violent agitations. The auxiliaries from Gaul, a mercenary band, who neither loved one party nor hated the other, mere soldiers of fortune, without sentiment or principle, were soon persuaded by their officers to abandon the cause of Vitellius. The veteran soldiers remained for some time in suspense. Overruled at length by Hordeonius Flaccus, and importuned by the tribunes, they swore fidelity to Vespasian; but with an air of re-

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luctance, and a stern ferocity, that plainly showed their hearts were not in unison with their words. In repeating the form of the oath, they faltered at the name of Vespasian, never pronouncing it distinctly, but muttering to themselves, and, in general, passing it over in silence.

XXXII. A letter from Antonius to Civilis was read to a full assembly of the legions. The style, in which that active partisan was treated as a friend to the new emperor, while the legions were considered as enemies, excited a general indignation. An account of these transactions was soon after transmitted to the camp at Gelduba, where the same compliance, and the same discontents, prevailed. Montanus was deputed to Civilis, with instructions to require, that he would "lay down his arms, and "cease to varnish hostile intentions with the spe-"cious pretence of fighting in the cause of Rome. If, "in fact, he meant to serve Vespasian, that end was "answered, and it was time to sheath the sword." To this message Civilis replied with guarded subtlety; but perceiving in Montanus an active genius, and a spirit of enterprise, he opened his mind without reserve. "I have served," he said, "in the "Roman armies for five-and-twenty years: in that "time I have encountered various perils; and what "has been my reward? I have seen the death of a "brother; I have been loaded with fetters; and I "have heard the clamours of the Roman army, "with rage and violence demanding my blood. If, "in return, I seek the blood of my enemies, I stand

"justified by the law of nations. As to you, ye Treverians, and you, ye abject nations, who can tamely submit to a foreign master, what do you expect will be the fruit of all your toil, and all your blood lavished in the service of Rome? Endless warfare, eternal tributes, the lictor's rod, the axe, and the wanton cruelty of your imperious masters; those are the rewards that wait you. Behold in me the præfect of a single cohort; behold the Caninefates and the Batavian forces; they are but a mere handful of men, a small portion of Gaul: and yet, what have we not achieved? That spacious camp, the proud display of Roman labour, is, at this moment, tottering to its fall. If their legions hold out, famine will devour them; if famine forbears, the sword must end them. In a word, by daring nobly, we shall recover our liberty: if we fail, our condition can not be worse than it was before." By this animated speech Civilis roused the ambition of Montanus. He then dismissed him with directions to report his answer in milder terms. Montanus obeyed his orders, content with reporting that he failed in his negotiation. He suppressed the rest; but the whole broke out afterwards with redoubled fury.

XXXIII. Civilis turned his attention to the motions of Vocula and his army. Having reserved for himself a sufficient force, he dispatched to Gelduba his veteran cohorts, and the bravest of the Germans, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor. The last was nephew to Civilis, being a

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sister's son. The two chiefs arrived at Asciburgium (*a*), and there stormed the winter encampment of a squadron of horse. From that place they made a forced march, and fell with such unexpected fury on the camp at Gelduba, that Vocula had neither time to harangue his men, nor to form his line of battle. All he could do, was to order the legionary soldiers to draw up in the centre. The auxiliaries, in a tumultuary manner, ranged themselves in the wings. The cavalry advanced to the attack; but making no impression on the well embodied ranks of the Germans, they soon gave ground, and fled with precipitation. From that moment, it was a scene of slaughter, not a battle. The Nervians quitted their post through fear or treachery, and, by their flight, left the flank of the Romans open to the enemy. The barbarians, following their advantage, penetrated to the centre. They drove the legions into their entrenchments; they seized their standards, and made a dreadful carnage. But a reinforcement coming up in time, the fortune of the day was changed. The Gascon cohorts (*b*), formerly levied by Galba, had received orders to join the army. Hearing, as they approached the camp, the din of arms, and the uproar of battle, they advanced to the attack, and charged the Batavians in the rear. The terror that seized the enemy, was greater than could be expected from so small a number. Some imagined that succours arrived from Novesium; others thought of nothing less than the whole army from Magontiacum. The mistake revived the drooping courage of the Romans. Depending on the valour

of others, they began to exert their own. The Batavian infantry was put to the rout. Their cavalry escaped, and carried with them the prisoners and standards, which they had taken in the beginning of the action. The number slain on the part of the Romans greatly exceeded the loss of the enemy; but the slaughter fell on the worst of their troops, whereas the Germans lost the flower of their army.

XXXIV. The commanders on both sides were equally in fault. By their misconduct, they deserved the check they met with; and, when fortune favoured their arms, neither of them knew how to improve his advantage. Had Civilis sent into the field a stronger force, it is evident that his men could not have been hemmed in by so small a number. Having forced the entrenchments, he might have rased them to the ground. On the other hand, Vocula had sent out no scouts to watch the motions of the enemy. Taken by surprise, he marched out of his camp, and was defeated. Having afterwards gained a victory, he made no use of it, but lost several days before he made a forward movement. Had he pursued his advantage, and given the enemy no time to rest, one vigorous effort would have raised the siege of the camp. Civilis exerted every effort, determined to profit by the inactivity of the Roman general. He endeavoured by his messengers, to shake the firmness of the garrison; he represented the forces under Vocula as entirely overthrown; he boasted of a complete victory; he displayed the banners taken from the enemy, and, with ostenta-

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tion, made a show of the prisoners. The spirit with which one of them behaved deserves to be recorded. With a clear and audible voice, he called out to the besieged, and told them the event of the late battle. For this gallant action, he was butchered on the spot. That act of vengeance gave credit to his story. The besieged, at the same time, saw the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waste on every side. This announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in the sight of the camp, and, having erected his standards, ordered a fosse to be made, and a palisade to be thrown up, that, the baggage being safely deposited, he might offer battle with greater security. The soldiers thought it loss of time: they desired to be led on to the attack; and, according to custom, threats of vengeance resounded through the army. No order of battle was formed. Fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confusion, they rushed on with impetuous fury. Civilis was in force, and ready to receive them. He relied no less on the vices of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with various turns of fortune. The bold and forward in sedition were cowards in the field. A sense of honour prevailed with some. They remembered their late exploits, and, flushed with victory, maintained their post; they attacked the barbarians, and by deeds of valour roused the spirit of their comrades. Having restored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, they waved their hands to the besieged, inviting them to sally out, and use their opportunity. The legions

from their ramparts saw the scene of action, and rushed out at every gate. An accident disconcerted Civilis. His horse fell under him. A report that he was slain, or dangerously wounded, ran through both armies. Consternation covered the Batavian ranks, and joy inspired the Romans with new ardour.

XXXV. Vocula did not think fit to harass the barbarians in their retreat. Instead of hanging on their rear, he amused himself with repairing the works of the camp, as if he expected a second siege. The consequence was, that he who so often neglected to make use of his victory, was thought no enemy to a lingering war. The scarcity of provisions was what chiefly distressed the Roman army. To remedy the evil, Vocula sent off all his useless people, with the wagons, as far as Novesium, with intent that, by the return of the same convoy, a supply of corn might be brought to the camp. The conveyance by land was necessary, as the enemy were masters of the river. The first attempt succeeded, Civilis not having then recovered his strength. Being informed soon after, that a second party was on the way to Novesium, with a few cohorts marching in all the negligence of a profound peace, their colours and standards thinly guarded, their arms laid up in the wagons, and the men scattered in loose disorder, he resolved to attack them by surprise. Having first secured the bridges over the river, and the defiles of the country, he advanced in order of battle. The Romans, though their lines were stretched to a vast

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length, made a brave resistance, till night put an end to the conflict. The cohorts arrived at Gelduba, and found the entrenchments and the garrison in good condition. The difficulty of returning, after this check, to the old camp was now too apparent. Vocula resolved to march to their assistance. For this purpose he drafted from the fifth and fifteenth legions a thousand chosen men, who had stood the siege in the old camp, and were distinguished by their rancorous animosity to their commanding officers. These he added to his army. A number of others, without orders, thought fit to follow, declaring aloud, that they would neither bear the distress of famine, nor the treachery of their chiefs. Among those who remained behind, the spirit of discontent was no less violent. They complained, that, by drawing off a part, the whole was weakened. Hence two seditions raged at the same time; one demanding the return of Vocula, and the other resolved never again to enter the camp.

XXXVI. Civilis, in the mean time, returned to the siege. Vocula retired to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium. Civilis took possession of Gelduba, and soon after, in an engagement of the cavalry, near Novesium, gained a victory. All events, whether prosperous or otherwise, were now alike to the Romans, incensed, on every occasion, against their general officers. Being reinforced by the detachment from the fifth and fifteenth legions, they grew more outrageous than ever; and having gained intelligence that a sum of money was sent by Vitellius, they cla-

moured loudly for the immediate discharge of their donative. Hordeonius Flaccus complied without hesitation, but in the name of Vespasian. By this step the flame of sedition was kindled to a blaze. The men betook themselves to feasts and revelling; they caroused during the night, and, in their liquor, their old antipathy to Flaccus revived with all its virulence. They rushed to his tent; the darkness of the night served to muffle their horrible design, and no sense of shame remained. Neither tribune nor centurion dared to interpose. They dragged their general out of his bed, and murdered him on the spot. The same catastrophe was prepared for Vocula; but that officer, in the disguise of a slave, made his escape. The fury of the mutineers began to relent: fear succeeded to rage; they dreaded the consequences, and, in their distress, dispatched some of the centurions, with letters to the states of Gaul, requesting a supply of men and money.

XXXVII. Being left without a leader, they were no better than a senseless multitude, bold and wavering, rash and cowardly, by turns. Civilis advanced to offer battle; they seized their arms, they laid them down, and betook themselves to flight. Even in distress they could not act with a spirit of union; they quarrelled among themselves, and the soldiers from the Upper Rhine abandoned the common cause. The images of Vitellius were, notwithstanding, set up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities; but Vitellius was then no more (*a*). The soldiers of the first, the fourth, and the eighteenth

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legions, returning to a sense of their duty, put themselves under the command of Vocula, and having, by his direction, taken the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, marched to raise the siege of Magontiacum. A motley army of the Cattians (*b*), the Usipians, and the Mattiaci had invested the place; but, on the approach of the Romans, they decamped with a load of booty. The legions fell in with their straggling parties, and put a great number to the sword. The Treverians had sunk a fence and raised a palisade, to defend the frontier of their country against the inroads of the Germans, whom they attacked with alternate success, and no small effusion of blood. In the end, they deserted from the Romans, and, by their perfidy, sullied the lustre of all their former services.

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XXXVIII. Meanwhile, Vespasian and his son Titus, though both absent from Rome, entered on the year of their joint consulship. A melancholy gloom hung over the city. The minds of men were distracted with different apprehensions, and to their natural fears imagination added a train of groundless terrors. It was supposed that Africa (*a*), at the instigation of Lucius Piso, was in open rebellion. Piso was, at that time, governor of the province; but the love of innovation made no part of his character. It happened that the roughness of the winter interrupted the navigation, and, the corn ships not arriving regularly, the populace, who have never more than one day's provision, dreaded an approaching famine. Of all that concerns the public, the price

of grain is their only care (*b*). Their fear, at present, was, that, to cut off supplies from Rome, the coast of Africa was guarded; and what they feared, they easily believed. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the spirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report. Even the conquerors did not dislike the news. Convulsions of the state were not unwelcome to men of their description, whose avarice no foreign conquest could appease, and no civil war could satisfy.

XXXIX. On the calends of January, the senate, convened by Julius Frontinus (*a*), the city prætor, passed a vote of thanks to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as soon as the men declared for Vespasian, was, for that offence, deprived of the prætorship. Plotius Griphus succeeded to the office. Hormus was raised to the equestrian rank. Upon the voluntary abdication of Frontinus, Domitian, who had the additional title of Cæsar, assumed the dignity of city prætor. From that time, all edicts and public instruments were issued in his name; but the authority of government still centred in Mucianus, though sometimes counteracted by Domitian. That young prince, encouraged by his friends, or spurred on by his own ambition, by fits and starts assumed the character of first minister. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the persons whom Mucianus viewed with a jealous eye. They were both recent from the field of glory; both covered with laurels, idolized by the

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army; and, as all the blood they had spilt was in the field of battle, they were both respected by the populace. Antonius, it was confidently said, had invited Scribonianus Crassus (*b*) to the head of the commonwealth. Crassus was descended from an illustrious line of ancestors, and derived additional lustre from his brother, whom Galba made, by adoption, heir apparent of the empire. Thus distinguished, he would not have wanted partisans; but he was deaf to all temptation. A man of his way of thinking, who would have refused himself to a party already formed, was not to be dazzled by a distant and uncertain prospect. Mucianus found that he had, in the person of Antonius, a powerful rival. To ruin him by open hostility were a dangerous attempt. He resolved to act by stratagem, and accordingly, in the senate, grew lavish in his praise. He amused him in private with splendid promises; he offered him the government of the nethermost Spain, then vacant by the absence of Cluvius Rufus, and bestowed favours on his friends, assigning to some the rank of præfect, and raising others to military honours. He flattered the ambition of Antonius, and was, at the same time, at work to undermine him. He sent the seventh legion, known to be devoted to his rival, into winter-quarters. The third was in the interest of Arrius Varus, and for that reason sent into Syria. Part of the army was ordered back to Germany; and, the seeds of tumult and sedition being in this manner removed, the city began to resume its ancient form: the laws revived, and the magistrates discharged the functions of their office.

XL. Domitian, on the day of his first appearance in the senate, lamented, in a short speech, the absence of his father and his brother Titus. Of himself he spoke with becoming diffidence. His deportment was graceful, and his manner interesting. The vices of his heart being then unknown, the blush of youth was considered as the mark of an ingenuous mind. He proposed that the name of Galba should be revived with all the honours due to his memory. Curtius Montanus added to the motion the name of Piso. A decree was passed accordingly, but as far as it related to Piso, never executed. A number of commissioners were drawn by lot; some with power to restore to the lawful owners the property wrested from them during the violence of civil war; others, to inspect the tables of brass on which the laws were engraved, and to repair such as were defaced by the injuries of time; to examine the public registers, and erase the expressions of servile adulation (*a*), with which, at different periods, they were all contaminated; and finally, to set due limits to the public expenditure. Tertius Julianus, it now appeared, fled from his legion, to join the banners of Vespasian, and thereupon the prætorian dignity was restored to him; but the honours of that rank were by a decree confirmed to Griphus. The prosecution commenced by Musonius Rufus (*b*) against Publius Celer was resumed, and brought to a hearing. Celer was convicted, and by the sentence of condemnation he made atonement to the manes of Soranus. This act of justice was honourable to the fathers, and not less so to Musonius. Men applauded the con-

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stancy with which he vindicated the memory of his friend. Nothing could equal his glory, except the infamy that attended Demetrius (*c*), a professor of the cynic philosophy, who, with more ambition than virtue, employed his eloquence in the cause of a notorious criminal, who, in the hour of danger, had neither courage nor ability to defend himself. The event gave the signal for a general attack on the whole race of informers; and, accordingly, Junius Mauricus (*d*) moved for an order to lay the journals of the late emperors before the senate, that in those records it might be seen, who were the men of a persecuting spirit, and against whom their malice had been levelled. Domitian was of opinion, that, in a matter of such magnitude, the emperor ought to be consulted.

XLI. The senate, on the motion of some of the leading members, devised a new form of oath, by which they called the gods to witness, that no man by any act of theirs had been aggrieved, and that they themselves had derived no kind of advantage from the calamity of the times. The magistrates took this oath with the most ready compliance; and the fathers, in regular succession, followed their example. Some, whom their conscience reproached in secret, endeavoured, by various subtleties, to weaken or to vary the form of words. The remorse of scrupulous minds the fathers approved, but equivocal swearing they condemned as perjury. That judgment, delivered by the highest authority, fell with weight upon Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius

Actianus, and Cestius Severus, three notorious informers in the reign of Nero. The first of these offenders added to his former practices the recent guilt of attempting the same iniquity under Vitellius. The fathers, fired with indignation, threatened to lay violent hands on him, and never desisted till they forced him to withdraw from the senate house. Pactius Africanus was the next object of resentment. It was he, they said, who made Nero sacrifice to his cruelty the two Scribonii (*a*), those excellent brothers, not more distinguished by the splendour of their fortunes, than by their affection for each other. The miscreant had not the contumacy to avow the fact, and to deny it was not in his power. He turned short upon Vibius Crispus (*b*), who pressed him with pointed questions; and, since he could not justify his own conduct, he contrived, by blending it with the guilt of his accuser, to soften resentment against himself.

XLII. In the debates of that day, Vipstanius Messala, though a young man, not yet of senatorian age (*a*), gained immortal honour, not only by his eloquence, but for natural affection and the goodness of his heart. He had the spirit to stand forth for his brother, Aquilius Regulus (*b*), and to implore, in his behalf, the lenity of the fathers. By the ruin of the ancient family of the Crassi, and the illustrious house of Orphitus (*c*), Regulus had drawn upon himself the public detestation. Of his own motion he undertook the prosecution against those eminent citizens. He had no motives of fear, no danger to

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ward off from himself. The early genius of the man made him an informer from his youth; and by the destruction of others he hoped to open his road to honours. His brother, notwithstanding, interceded for him; but, on the other hand, Sulpicia Prætextata, the widow of Crassus, with her four fatherless children, attended the senate, ready, if the cause came to a hearing, to demand the vengeance due to his crimes. Messala did not enter into the merits of the cause. Without attempting to make a defence, he sued for mercy, and succeeded so well, that many of the fathers were softened in his favour. To counteract that impression, Curtius Montanus (*d*) rose, and, in a speech of great warmth and vehemence, went so far as to charge, in direct terms, that Regulus, as soon as Galba was dispatched, gave a purse of money to the ruffian that murdered Piso, and, throwing himself on the body with unheard-of malice, gnawed the head with his teeth. "This," he said, "was an act of barbarity not im-"putable to Nero. Did that tyrant order it, or, did "you, Regulus, advance your dignity by that atro-"cious deed? Did your personal safety require it? "Let us, if you will, admit, in some cases, the plea "of necessity: let those, who, to save themselves, "accomplish the ruin of others, be allowed, by such "excuses, to extenuate their guilt. You, Regulus, "have not that apology: after the banishment of "your father, and the confiscation of his effects, you "lived secure, beyond the reach of danger. Ex-"cluded by your youth from public honours, you "had no possessions to tempt the avarice of Nero;

" no rising merit to alarm his jealousy. A rage for
" blood. early ambition, and avarice panting for the
" wages of guilt, were the motives that urged you
" on. Unknown at the bar, and never so much as
" seen in the defence of any man, you came upon
" mankind with talents for destruction. The first
" specimen of your genius was the murder of illus-
" trious citizens. The commonwealth was reduced
" to the last gasp, and that was the crisis in which
" you plundered the remaining spoils of your coun-
" try. You seized the consular ornaments, and,
" having amassed enormous riches, swelled your
" pride with the pontifical dignities. Innocent chil-
" dren, old men of the first eminence, and women
" of illustrious rank, have been your victims. It
" was from you that Nero learned a system of com-
" pendious cruelty. The slow progress with which
" he carried slaughter from house to house, did not
" satisfy your thirst for blood. The emperor, ac-
" cording to your doctrine, fatigued himself and his
" band of harpies by destroying single families at a
" time, when it was in his power, by his bare word,
" to sweep away the whole senate to destruction.
" Retain amongst you, conscript fathers, if such be
" your pleasure, retain this son of mischief, this
" man of dispatch, that the age may have its own
" distinctive character, and send down to posterity
" a model for imitation. Marcellus and Crispus
" gave lessons of villany to your fathers: let Regu-
" lus instruct the rising generation. We see, that
" daring iniquity, even when unsuccessful, has its
" followers: when it thrives and flourishes, will it

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"want admirers? We have before us a man, no "higher at present than the rank of quæstor; and if "we are now afraid of proceeding against him, "what think you will be the case, when we see him "exalted to the prætorian and the consular dignity? "Do we flatter ourselves, that the race of tyrants "ended with Nero? The men who survived Tibe-"rius reasoned in that manner; after the death of "Caligula they said the same; but another master "succeeded, more cruel, and more detestable. From "Vespasian we have nothing to fear. He is at the "time of life when the passions subside; the virtues "of moderation and humanity are his: but virtue "operates slowly, while pernicious examples remain "in force, and teach a system of cruelty when the "tyrant is no more. As to us, conscript fathers, we "have lost all our vigour: we are no longer the "senate that condemned Nero to death, and in the "spirit of ancient times called aloud for vengeance "on the ministers and advisers of that evil period. "The day that succeeds the downfal of a tyrant is "always the best."

XLIII. This speech was heard with such marks of general approbation, that Helvidius Priscus, taking advantage of the temper of the fathers, thought it a fair opportunity to have his full blow at Eprius Marcellus. He began with an encomium on the character of Cluvius Rufus; a man of wealth, and distinguished eloquence, yet never known, through the whole reign of Nero, to have employed his talents against the life or fortune of any person whatever.

As a contrast to this bright example, he painted forth, in glaring colours, the flagitious practices of Marcellus. The fathers heard the charge with indignation. Marcellus saw the temper of the assembly, and, rising in his place, addressed himself to Helvidius: "I withdraw," he said, "and leave you "to give your laws to the senate. Preside, if you "will, and, even in the presence of the emperor's "son, usurp the supreme authority." He spoke, and quitted his seat. Vibius Crispus followed him; both enraged, but with different passions in their looks; Marcellus with eyes that darted fire; Crispus, with a malignant smile. Their friends prevailed on them to return to their places. The whole assembly was in a flame. The men of integrity were on one side, and formed the largest party: the opposite faction were few in number, but they had weight and influence. A violent contest followed, and ended in nothing. The day was lost in altercation.

XLIV. At the next meeting of the senate, Domitian proposed a general amnesty, in order to bury in oblivion all complaints, all resentments, and all the grievances of former times. Mucianus went at large into the case of the informers, and, in a tone of mild persuasion, entreated such as wanted to revive dormant prosecutions to desist from their purpose. The fathers had hitherto entertained hopes of recovering the independent exercise of their rights; but the present opposition convinced them, that liberty was not to be favoured. Mucianus apprehending, that, by this check, a blow might appear

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to be given to the authoriiy of the senate, and that, by consequence, impunity would be claimed by all the delinquents of Nero's time, remanded to the islands, to which they had been banished, Octavius Sagitta, and Antistius Sosianus, both of senatorian rank. The former had lived in a course of adultery with (*a*) Pontia Posthumia; and not being able to prevail on her to marry him, in the fury of disappointed love murdered the woman whom he adored. Sosianus (*b*), by his evil practices, had been the ruin of numbers. Both had been condemned by a solemn decree of the senate; and though, in other instances, similar judgments had been remitted, against these two offenders the law was enforced with rigour. Mucianus expected that these measures would soften prejudice, and conciliate the public favour; but his plan did not succeed. Sosianus and Sagitta might have been allowed to remain at Rome without any disadvantage to the public. They were men despised, and must have lived in obscurity. The grievance, under which the people laboured, arose from the encouragement given to the tribe of informers. The talents, the riches, and the influence of that pernicious crew, spread a general terror through the city.

XLV. A cause, which was soon after brought forward, and heard in due form, according to ancient usage, contributed, in some degree, to calm the discontents of the senate. A complaint was made to that assembly, by Manlius Patruitus, a member of their body, that, at a meeting of the

people in the colony of the Senensians (*a*), he was assaulted and even struck, by order of the magistrates. Nor did the injury stop there: they buried him in effigy in his own presence, compelling him not only to be a spectator of the scene, but to bear the insulting mockery of funeral lamentations, to see the images of his ancestors carried in a ludicrous procession, and to hear a torrent of opprobrious language thrown out against the senate. The parties accused were cited to appear. The cause was heard. and the guilty suffered condign punishment. The fathers added a decree, by which the people of the colony were required to be more observant of decency and good order. About the same time, Antonius Flamma, at the suit of the inhabitants of Cyrene, was convicted of extortion, and, his case being aggravated by acts of cruelty, the fathers ordered him into banishment.

XLVI. During these transactions, a violent uproar broke out in the camp, and almost rose to open sedition. The soldiers, disbanded by Vitellius, and afterwards embodied in the service of Vespasian, claimed a right to their former rank in the prætorian guards. At the same time, a number of others, who had been drafted from the legions, under a promise of being promoted to that station, demanded their right, and the pay annexed to it. In this dilemma another difficulty occurred. The soldiers who had been retained in the army by Vitellius, could not be dismissed without great hazard, and even bloodshed. Mucianus entered the camp. In

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order to ascertain the period of time, during which they all had carried arms, he directed that the victorious troops, leaving proper distances between the respective companies, should be drawn up under arms, with all their military ornaments. The Vitellians, who, as has been mentioned, surrendered at Bovillæ, together with all the stragglers that could be found either at Rome, or in the neighbourhood, advanced forward in one collected body. Nothing could be more wretched than their appearance; all in a ragged condition, and almost naked. Such of them as came from Britain, from Germany, or any other province, had orders to range themselves in separate divisions. The field presented an awful spectacle. The Vitellians saw before them the victors in the late battle arrayed in terror, and brandishing their arms. They looked around, and found themselves inclosed, in a defenceless state, displaying their nakedness and deformity. Being ordered to remove to different parts of the field, they were seized with a general panic. The Germans, in particular, thought themselves led forth to slaughter; they embraced their comrades; they hung about their necks and with prayers and tears, implored their fellow-soldiers not to desert them in the last distress. Their cause, they said, was common, and why should their fate be different from the rest? They appealed to Mucianus; they invoked the absent prince; they offered up their supplications to the gods. Mucianus appeased their fears: he told them, they were all fellow-soldiers in the service of the same prince, all

bound by the common obligation of the same military oath. The victors were touched with sympathy, and, by their acclamations, showed that they felt for the unhappy. Nothing further happened on that day. In a short time afterwards, Domitian addressed them in a public harangue. The men had recovered their courage. They listened to the young prince with an air of confidence, firm and intrepid. Domitian proposed an allotment of lands: they refused the offer, desiring to continue in the service, and receive the arrears of their pay. They made their request in a humble style; but the request was in the nature of a demand, not to be resisted. They were all incorporated with the prætorian guards. The superannuated, and such as had served out their time, were discharged with honour from the service. Some were cashiered for misbehaviour, but by slow degrees, and without disgrace. They were weeded out man by man; a sure expedient to prevent cabals and factions in the army.

XLVII. The poverty of the public treasury, real, or, for political reasons, pretended, was brought forward in the senate. A scheme was proposed for raising, by a loan from private persons, the sum of six hundred thousand sesterces. The management of the business was committed to Poppæus Silvanus; but the project was soon after dropt, the plea of necessity ceasing, or the motives for dissimulation being removed. A law was proposed by Domitian, and enacted by the senate, by which the several successions to the consulship, as they stood ap-

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pointed by Vitellius, were declared null and void. The funeral of Flavius Sabinus (*a*) was performed with all the pomp annexed to the censorian dignity; a striking instance of the caprice of fortune, which, like the tempest, mixing the highest and the lowest in wild confusion, sunk Sabinus to the depth of misery, and, after his death, raised him to unavailing honours.

XLVIII. About this time, Lucius Piso the proconsul, was murdered. The particulars of that tragic event I shall relate with the fidelity of an historian; and if I go back to trace the origin and progress of all such atrocious deeds, the inquiry will not be without its use. By the policy of Augustus, and, afterwards, by the same system continued under Tiberius, the legion quartered in Africa, together with the auxiliaries employed to defend the frontier of the province, obeyed the sole authority of the proconsul. The wild and turbulent genius of Caligula changed that arrangement. Suspecting Marcus Silanus, then governor of Africa, he transferred the command of the legion to an imperial lieutenant, whom he sent into Africa for the purpose. By that measure, the power of granting military preferment was divided between two rivals: a struggle for preeminence soon took place; their orders clashed; strife and emulation followed, and passions on both sides inflamed the dispute. In process of time, the imperial lieutenant gained the ascendant. His continual residence on the spot gave him the advantage, and, as is usual in subordinate stations, the second

in authority was the most eager to grasp at power. The proconsuls, conscious of their own dignity, despised the little arts of aggrandizing themselves. They took care to act with circumspection, and, content with personal safety, formed no schemes of ambition.

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XLIX. During Piso's administration in Africa, Valerius Festus had the command of the legion; a young man of unbounded expense; a voluptuous prodigal, and an aspiring genius. He was nearly allied to Vitellius, and that circumstance filled him with disquietude. Whether it be true, that, in private conferences, he endeavoured to incite Piso to a revolt, or, on the other hand, that, being himself solicited, he withstood the temptation, must remain uncertain. No man was admitted into their secrets. After the death of Piso, the public was disposed to think favourably even of the murderer. The natives of the province, as well as the soldiers, were disaffected to Vespasian. It is likewise certain, that the partisans of Vitellius, who escaped from Rome, endeavoured to fire the ambition of Piso. They represented Gaul on the eve of a revolt, and the Germans ready to take up arms; they stated the dangerous situation in which Piso stood, and open war, they said, was preferable to a dangerous peace. In that juncture, Claudius Sagitta, who commanded the squadron of horse called Petrina, arrived in Africa. Favoured with a quick passage, he got the start of Papirius, a centurion, dispatched by Mucianus, with secret instructions, as Sagitta affirmed,

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to assassinate Piso. He added, that Galerianus, the proconsul's near relation, and also his son-in-law, had already met his fate. For the proconsul himself, there remained nothing but a bold and daring enterprise. For this purpose two schemes presented themselves; one, by calling forth the province under arms; the other by passing over into Gaul, there to show himself at the head of the Vitellian party. Piso remained deaf to these remonstrances. In the mean time, the centurion sent by Mucianus arrived in Africa. He landed at Carthage, and no sooner entered that city, than he proclaimed, with an air of joy, that Piso's affairs were in a prosperous train, and that the imperial dignity was already his. The people stood astonished at a revolution so unexpected. The centurion desired them to spread the news, with shouts and demonstrations of joy; and, accordingly, the credulous multitude rushed to the forum, calling aloud on Piso to make his appearance. The city rung with acclamations. About the truth no man inquired: all pressed forward to pay their court to the new emperor. Piso, in the mean time, alarmed by the evidence of Sagitta, or, perhaps, restrained by his own native modesty, resolved not to stir from his house. He examined the centurion; and finding that the whole was a snare to involve him in a rash attempt, and thereby give a colour to the intended murder, he ordered the ruffian to be put to death; not imagining that, by that vindictive measure, he could save his own life, but because he saw with indignation the assassin of Clodius Macer ready to imbrue his hands in the

blood of the proconsul. Having made this sacrifice to justice, he issued a proclamation, in strong terms condemning the rash behaviour of the Carthaginians. From that moment, renouncing all the duties of his station, he confined himself to his own house, determined that nothing on his part should be the occasion of new disturbances.

L. Festus was duly apprised of all that passed. The excesses committed by the populace, the death of the centurion, and other reports, magnified, as usual, by the voice of fame, determined him to cut off the proconsul without delay. He dispatched a party of horse to perpetrate the deed. The assassins made a rapid march in the night, and at the dawn of day rushed, sword in hand, into Piso's house. Being men picked for the purpose from the Carthaginian or the Moorish auxiliaries, they did not so much as know the person whom they intended to murder. Near his chamber door they met one of the slaves, and sternly asked him, Who are you? and where is Piso? With a generous and splendid falsehood, the man replied, "I am Piso." He was butchered on the spot. Piso in a short time after met his fate. It happened that he was known to one of the ruffians, by name Bebius Massa (*a*), an imperial procurator in Africa, even then the avowed enemy of every worthy character, and in the miseries that followed, an actor frequently to appear in scenes of blood and cruelty. Meanwhile, Festus remained at Adrumetum (*b*), waiting for the issue of the business. Having received intelligence, he pro-

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ceeded to the legion, and there ordered Cetronius Pisanus, the præfect of the camp, to be loaded with fetters. His motive for this proceeding was a personal grudge, disguised, however, under a pretended charge, that the prisoner was the friend and partisan of Piso. He punished some of the soldiers, and rewarded others, with no good reason for either, but purely to give himself the important air of having crushed a civil war. A quarrel subsisted between the Æensians (*c*) and the people of Leptis; but by the interposition of Festus the dispute was compromised. Those cities complained of depredations committed in their respective territories, and both were preparing to hazard a battle. The Æensians were, in fact, inferior in number to their adversaries; but they had formed a league with the Garamantes, a fierce and savage race, that lived altogether by plunder, and, by consequence, the people of Leptis were reduced to the last extremity. They saw their lands laid waste, and were obliged to take shelter in their fortified towns, till the Roman cohorts and cavalry advanced to their relief. The Garamantes abandoned the siege, leaving behind them the whole of their booty, except what some of their flying parties had conveyed to their huts in the midst of deserts, or sold to the inhabitants of distant regions.

LI. Vespasian, at this time, had received intelligence of the victory at Cremona, and the success of his arms in every quarter. The death of Vitellius was announced to him by men of rank and condition,

who had the spirit in that rough season of the year, to undertake a voyage, in order to be the first to communicate that important event. Vologeses, the Parthian king, offered by his ambassadors to assist him with forty thousand of his cavalry. Nothing could be more glorious than the situation in which Vespasian stood: the allies paid their court, and he was in no need of their assistance. He returned thanks to Vologeses, desiring, at the same time, since the peace of the empire was now established, that he would send ambassadors to the senate. Vespasian now began to turn his thoughts towards Italy, and the affairs of Rome. The accounts which he received concerning his son Domitian were by no means favourable. The young prince was said to assume beyond his years, and to tower above the rank even of the emperor's son. For the present, Vespasian thought fit to place his son Titus at the head of the army, and leave him to carry on the war against the Jews.

LII. Titus, we are told, before he set out to take upon him the command, used his best influence to mitigate his father in favour of Domitian. "The "tales," he said, "of insidious whisperers ought not "to be regarded: a son may fairly claim a right to "be heard in his defence, nor should a father har-"bour prejudices against him. Fleets and armies "are not always the strongest bulwarks: the best "resources of the sovereign are in his own family. "Friends moulder away; time changes the affections "of men; views of interest form new connexions;

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"the passions fluctuate; desires arise that can not be "gratified; misunderstandings follow, and friend- "ships are transferred to others; but the ties of "blood still remain in force, and in that bond of "union consists the security of the emperor. In his "prosperity numbers participate; in the day of trou- "ble, who, except his relations, takes a share in his "misfortunes? Even between brothers, concord and "unanimity are seldom lasting; and how should it "be otherwise, if the father ceases to give a laudable "example?"

Vespasian listened to these remonstrances, charmed with the amiable disposition of his son, yet not reconciled to Domitian. He desired Titus to banish all anxiety, and proceed, with a mind firm and erect, in the great work of enlarging the dominion and the glory of the empire. For himself, it should be his business to improve the arts of peace, and secure the welfare of his family. Vespasian's next care was to provide a supply of grain for the city of Rome. He ordered a number of swift-sailing vessels to be loaded with corn, and, though it was still the tempestuous season of the year, to put to sea without delay. Rome, in that juncture was reduced to an alarming situation, not having in the public granaries, when the fleet arrived, more than ten days provision.

LIII. The care of rebuilding the capitol was committed to Lucius Vestinus (*a*), a man no higher than the equestrian rank, but in credit and dignity of character equal to the first men in Rome. Under

his direction the soothsayers were convened. Their advice was, that the ruins of the former temple should be removed to the marshes, and that the new structure should be raised on the old foundation; for the gods would not permit a change of the ancient form. On the eleventh day before the calends of July, the sky being remarkably serene, the ground assigned for the foundation was encompassed with ribbons and chaplets of flowers. Such of the soldiers as had names of auspicious import (*b*) entered within the inclosure, bearing in their hands branches from the favourite trees of the gods. The vestal virgins followed in procession, with a band of boys and girls whose parents, male and female, were still living. They sprinkled the place with water drawn from three clear fountains, and three rivers. Helvidius Priscus, the prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus, the pontiff, sacrificed a swine, a sheep, and a bull; and, having spread the entrails upon the green turf, invoked Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, praying of them, and all the tutelar deities of Rome, that they would favour the undertaking, and, with their divine assistance, carry to perfection a work begun and consecrated by the piety of man.

After this solemn prayer, Helvidius laid his hand upon the fillets that adorned the foundation stone, and also the cords by which it was to be drawn to its place. In that instant, the magistrates, the priests, the senators, the Roman knights, and a number of citizens, all acting with one effort, and general demonstrations of joy, laid hold of the ropes and dragged the ponderous load to its destined spot.

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They then threw in ingots of gold and silver, and other metals, which had never been melted in the furnace, but still retained, untouched by human art, their first formation in the bowels of the earth. The soothsayers had directed, that neither stone nor gold, which had been applied to other uses, should profane any part of the building. The walls were raised higher than before. Religion allowed no other alteration. To the magnificence of the former structure (*c*) nothing but elevation could be added; and that, in a place designed for the reception of prodigious multitudes, was allowed to be necessary.

LIV. Meanwhile the news of Vitellius's death, spreading through Gaul and Germany, gave rise to two wars at once. Civilis, no longer managing appearances, declared open hostility against the Romans; and the Vitellian soldiers, rather than acknowledge Vespasian, were ready to submit to slavery under a foreign yoke. The Gauls began to breathe new life and vigour, persuaded that the Roman arms, wherever stationed, were broken and dispirited. A rumour was current among them, and universally believed, that the Dacians and Sarmatians had laid siege to the encampments in Mæsia and Pannonia. Affairs in Britain were supposed to be in no better situation. Above all, the destruction of the capitol announced the approaching fate of the Roman empire. The Druids (*a*), in their wild enthusiasm, sung their oracular songs, in which they taught, that, when Rome was formerly sacked by the Gauls, the mansion of Jupiter being left entire,

the commonwealth survived that dreadful shock; but the calamity of fire, which had lately happened, was a denunciation from heaven, in consequence of which, power and dominion were to circulate round the world, and the nations on their side of the Alps were in their turn to become masters of the world. A report prevailed, at the same time, that the chieftains of Gaul, who had been employed by Otho against Vitellius, bound themselves by a solemn league, if the civil dissensions of Rome continued, to watch their opportunity, and, by one brave effort, recover their natural independence.

LV. Before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, this confederacy was a profound secret. That tragic event no sooner happened, than a negotiation took place between Civilis and Classicus, who commanded a squadron of Treverian horse, and was, at that time, a leading chief among the Gauls, in fame and wealth surpassing the rest of his countrymen. He derived his origin from a royal line; a race of men who had made themselves famous for the wisdom of their counsels, and their courage in the field. Thus descended, Classicus made it his boast, that he was the hereditary enemy, not the ally, of Rome. His plot was strengthened by the accession of Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus; the former, a Treverian; the latter, one of the Lingones. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to a command on the banks of the Rhine. Sabinus to his natural vanity united the pride, however ill-founded, of an illustrious descent. He pretended, that his great grandmother

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attracted the regard of Julius Cæsar during his wars in Germany, and from that embrace he deduced his pedigree.

The conspirators made it their business, in secret conferences, to sound the temper of others; and, having drawn into their plot a number of accomplices, held a general meeting in the Agrippinian colony. A private house was their scene of action. In that city the public mind abhorred all dangerous conspiracies. There were, notwithstanding, some of the inhabitants, and a party of Tungrians (*a*), present at the meeting; but the Treverians and Lingones gave life and vigour to the cause. Men of their spirit thought they lost their time in debate. They broke out at once, declaring with vehemence, "That Rome was brought, by the madness of her "own intestine divisions, to the brink of ruin; her "armies were cut to pieces; Italy was laid waste, "and the city taken by storm. In other parts of the "empire the legions have different wars upon their "hands; what then remains but to take possession "of the Alps? Secure the passes over those moun-"tains, and Gaul will not only recover her liberty, "but establish an independent empire. She may "then deliberate where to fix the extent and boun-"daries of her own dominions."

LVI. This great and daring project was approved as soon as heard. How to dispose of the remaining Vitellian soldiers was the next consideration. A general massacre was proposed. All agreed, that men of their description, seditious, turbulent, void

of principle, the murderers of their superior officers, deserved no quarter. And yet there were political reason for extending mercy: "The Vitellians might "be roused to an act of brave despair. It were bet- "ter to entice them into the confederacy. Let their "officers bleed, and, after that sacrifice, the com- "mon men, conscious of their crimes, yet enter- "taining hopes of impunity, would be ready to join "in any great and daring enterprise." Such was the plan of their revolt. Their next step was, by their agents and emissaries to kindle the flame of discord all over Gaul. The conspirators, in the mean time, with a specious show of duty, submitted to the commands of Vocula, determined to deceive him at first, and ruin him in the end. The plot, however, was not entirely concealed from the Roman general: he received intelligence, but in a difficult juncture, when his legions were incomplete, and wavering in their duty. Vocula found himself surrounded with perfidious soldiers, and secret conspirators. In that distress he judged it best to play against his enemies their own insidious game. With this design he set out for the Agrippinian colony. At that place he met Claudius Labeo, who, as already mentioned, had been sent by Civilis to be detained in custody by the Frisians. Having corrupted his guard, this man made his escape, and fled for refuge to the Romans. He now was willing to assist their cause. To that end he offered, at the head of a detachment, to penetrate into Batavia, and, by his influence, to engage the chiefs of the country in the interest of Rome. He obtained a

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small party of foot cavalry, and with that force passed over into the island, but attempted nothing against the Batavians. The whole of his service consisted in prevailing on a party of the Nervians and Betasians (*a*) to take up arms. With that reinforcement he ventured to attack the Caninefates and Marsacians, not indeed in an open and regular war, but, in the style of a freebooter, by sudden incursions.

LVII. The Gauls found means to impose upon Vocula. That commander fell into the snare, and marched in quest of the enemy. As soon as he approached the old camp, called VETERA, Classicus and Tutor, under colour of exploring the motions of the enemy, advanced to a considerable distance from the army, and, having there concluded a treaty with the German chiefs, threw off the mask at once. They encamped apart, and began to throw up entrenchments. Vocula, with indignation, exclaimed against the measure. "Rome," he said, "was not "so humbled by her own divisions as to become "the scorn of the Treverians and Lingones. She "had still great resources, a number of provinces "firm in her interest; victorious armies, and the "auspicious fortune of the empire. The avenging "gods were still on her side. The fate of Sacrovir "(*a*) and the treacherous Æduans may be still re-"membered. The overthrow of Vindex (*b*) is a "more recent instance. A single battle was suffi-"cient to quell those insurrections; and what have "the violators of all good faith to expect at present?

"The same gods, the same vengeance, the same "fate awaits them. Julius Cæsar was the person "who best understood the national character of the "Gauls. He knew how to deal with a perfidious "race. Augustus followed his example. Galba "granted an exemption from tributes, and, by that "indulgence, gave encouragement to sedition. Your "burthen has been lessened, and rebellion is your "gratitude: when you are once more subdued, and "reduced to poverty, you will then be taught that "submission is the duty of the vanquished." The tone of firmness and even ferocity, with which this speech was uttered, made no impression on Classicus and Tutor. Vocula marched back to Novesium. The Gauls encamped at the distance of two miles. The centurions and soldiers visited them without restraint, and settled the price for which they were willing to sell themselves. In that vile bargain and sale, a Roman army, with a baseness of spirit till then unheard of, submitted to swear fidelity to a foreign power; and, to ratify the horrible contract, agreed to murder their officers, or deliver them up bound in chains. In this distress, Vocula was advised to save himself by flight; but that general was resolved to face every danger. With a mind superior to distress, he called his men together, and harangued them as follows:

LVIII. "I have often addressed you, my fellow-"soldiers, but never with so much anxiety for your "welfare; never with so little concern for myself. "You have conspired against me, and I hear it

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"without regret. Encompassed as I am by so many "enemies, I can welcome death as the end of hu- "man misery. But I feel for you; for you my heart "bleeds inwardly. You are neither going forth to the "attack, nor does the enemy offer battle. In either "case that would be the lot of war, and I should be "willing to share the danger. You are now to draw "your unhallowed swords against your country: "Classicus expects it; he hopes to make you trai- "tors and parricides. He places before your eyes "the empire of Gaul; he invites you to swear fide- "lity to that imaginary state. But still reflect for a "moment: if fortune has deserted you, if your cou- "rage fails, are there no bright examples transmit- "ted to you by your ancestors, to rouse your va- "lour? Have you forgot how often the Roman "armies, rather than desert their post, have died "bravely sword in hand? The allies of Rome have "seen their cities wrapped in fire, and, with their "wives and children, perished in the flames: and "what was their motive? They preserved their "faith inviolate, and they died with glory. Even "at this moment you have before your eyes the "noblest example: in the old camp, the legions, "amidst the horrors of a siege and the miseries of "famine, still maintain their post, undismayed by "danger, unseduced by promises. We have arms "and men; a camp well fortified, and provisions "sufficient for a long and tedious war. That there "is no want of money, yourselves are witnesses: "you have received your donative; and whether "you impute it to Vespasian or Vitellius, it is the

" bounty of the emperor. And will you, my fellow-
" soldiers, after all your victories, after routing the
" enemy at Gelduba and the old camp, will you now
" shrink at once, and sully all your fame? If you
" dread an engagement, behold your walls and forti-
" fications, your trenches and palisades: those will
" defend you; with those advantages you may stand
" at bay till succours arrive from the neighbouring
" provinces. Does your general displease you?
" There are other officers; there are tribunes, cen-
" turions, and, if you will, there are common men
" to take the command. In all events, let not the
" world hear the monstrous story, that Classicus and
" Civilis, with Roman arms and Roman soldiers,
" have invaded Italy.

" But let me ask you: Should the Gauls and Ger-
" mans be able to conduct you to the walls of Rome,
" will you there lift your impious hands against your
" country? My heart recoils with horror from the
" thought. Shall Roman soldiers be placed as sen-
" tinels at the tent of Tutor the Treverian? Shall
" a Batavian give the word of command? Will you
" serve as recruits to complete the German bat-
" talions? And what is to be the issue? When the
" Roman legions appear before you in order of bat-
" tle, what part will you act? Deserters already, will
" you become so a second time? From traitors to
" your country, will you turn traitors to your new
" allies? Bound by your former oaths, distracted by
" your last, and between both confounded, you will
" be lost in a maze of guilt, detesting yourselves,
" and still more detested by the gods. Immortal

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"Jove, supreme of gods, to whom, for so many "triumphs during a space of eight hundred and "twenty years, Rome has bowed down with praise "and adoration! thee I invoke; and thee too, "Romulus, thou mighty founder of the Roman "name! on thee I call: if it is your awful will, that, "under my command, this camp shall not remain "inviolate, yet hear my humble prayer; preserve "it from the pollution of barbarians; save it from "such men as Tutor and Classicus. To these, my "fellow-soldiers, grant unshaken virtue; or, if that "can not be, inspire them with remorse, that they "may see their error, and avert the horror of fla-"gitious deeds."

LIX. This speech was heard with various emotions. Hope, fear, and shame, rose in the minds of the soldiers. Vocula retired, with his own hand determined to deliver himself from a seditious army. His slaves and freedmen interposed, but their officious care reserved him for a harsher fate. Classicus dispatched his assassin, by name Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the first legion. That ruffian struck the fatal blow. Herennius and Numisius, who had each the command of a legion, were secured in chains. Classicus in a short time afterwards, entered the camp, with the pomp and apparel of a Roman commander; and though he brought with him a mind prompt and daring, he made no attempt to harangue the men, content with repeating the words of the oath. The soldiers swore fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. The murderer of

Vocula was raised to rank in the army. The rest were rewarded in proportion to their crimes. Tutor and Classicus took their different shares in the conduct of the war. Tutor proceeded with a strong force to the Agrippinian colony, and, having invested the place, compelled the inhabitants to bind themselves by an oath to the new empire. He exacted the same submission from the soldiers stationed on the Upper Rhine. Classicus marched to Magontiacum, and, by his order, the tribunes who refused obedience were put to death. The præfect of the camp betook himself to flight. From those who submitted, Classicus selected the most distinguished for their profligacy, and sent them to the old camp, with directions to promise a free pardon to all who were willing to surrender, and, in case of wilful obstinacy, to give notice, that famine, the devouring sword, and all the horrors of military vengeance, would be their portion. To these instructions the messengers added their own example, and the motives that influenced their conduct.

LX. The besieged were now in the last distress. Their sense of duty was still an active principle, and, on the other hand, famine stared them in the face. Between honour and infamy they were held in suspense, and the conflict was for some time undecided. Their store of provisions was exhausted. They were in want, not only of common food, but even of such as necessity might suggest. They had lived on horse-flesh; their beasts of burthen were consumed, and even of animals impure and filthy

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none remained. Reduced to this extremity, they tore up shrubs by the root; they broke down twigs and branches; they gathered the wretched herbs that grew penuriously between the stones. A generous band! exhibiting, in the last distress, an example of patience and heroic fortitude! Men forever memorable, if they had not at last. by sending deputies to sue for mercy, tarnished all their glory. The haughty Batavian refused to listen to their supplications till they swore fidelity to the empire of Gaul. By the terms of the capitulation, every thing in the camp was to be delivered up to Civilis. A band of soldiers was, accordingly, sent to guard the money, the slaves, the victuallers, and the baggage. The legions marched out destitute of every thing, with a strong party to escort them. They had not proceeded above five miles, when the Germans, contrary to all good faith, attacked them with sudden fury. The brave and resolute died on the spot; others betook themselves to flight, and were cut off by the pursuers; the survivors made their way back to the camp. Civilis called the behaviour of the Germans a violation of the law of nations: but whether he was acting a part, or, in fact, had not sufficient authority to restrain a body of undisciplined barbarians, must remain problematical. Having pillaged the camp, the Batavians threw in combustibles. and the whole was reduced to ashes. All who had lately escaped from the fury of the sword, perished in the flames.

LXI. Civilis, when he first took up arms againts

the Romans, bound himself by a solemn vow (*a*), according to the custom of those barbarous nations, to cherish the growth of his hair, which was now waving about his shoulders, dishevelled, long, and red. Thinking himself absolved by the slaughter of the legions, he cut it short for the first time during the war. He is said to have given to his infant son some Roman prisoners, as a mark to be levelled at with little darts and arrows, for the diversion of a child. It is worthy of notice, that in the height of his zeal for the empire of Gaul, he neither swore fidelity himself, nor required that act of submission from the Batavians. He relied on the valour of the Germans; and should it be necessary to contend for the sovereign power, he considered his own abilities, and his fame in arms, as a decided superiority. Mummius Lupercus, the commander of a legion, was sent, among a number of ample presents, as a gift to Veleda, a prophetess of the Bructerian nation (*b*). She ruled over a large tract of territory. Her name was held in veneration throughout Germany. The superstition of the country ascribed to numbers of women a preternatural insight into future events; and, in consequence of that persuasion, may have been revered as goddesses. Veleda, at that time, was the oracle of Germany. She had foretold the success of her countrymen, and the destruction of the legions. Her name, in consequence of that prediction, rose to the highest pitch. Lupercus was murdered on the road. A few centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reserved as hostages in the hands of Civilis, to

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bind the alliance between the two nations. The winter camps of the cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions, excepting one at Magontiacum, and another at Vindonissa, were levelled to the ground, or destroyed by fire.

LXII. The thirteenth legion, with the auxiliaries that surrendered at the same time, received orders to march, on a day appointed, from Novisium to the colony of the Treverians. The interval was big with anxiety, terror and distraction. The dastardly thought of nothing but the massacre at the old camp, and expected to have that scene renewed. The better sort, who still retained some sense of honour, blushed to see the humiliating condition to which they were reduced. "What kind of march "were they to undertake? and who was to conduct "them? It was their own act, they said, that made "the barbarians arbiters of life and death: every "thing depends upon their will and pleasure." Others cared for nothing but their money and their effects. To pack up what they valued most, and brace it round their bodies, was their only employment. About shame and dishonour they felt no solicitude. A few prepared their arms. as if for the field of battle. The fatal day arrived, more dismal and afflicting than their imaginations had represented it. In the camp their wretched appearance passed without notice: the open field and the glare of day displayed a scene of deformity. The images of the emperors were torn down from the ensigns; and the Roman standards, stripped of their ornaments,

seemed to droop in disgrace, while the colours of the Gauls fluttered in the air, and glittered to the eye. The march was slow, silent, melancholy; a long and dismal train, resembling a funeral procession. Claudius Sanctus, a man deformed by the loss of an eye, of a ferocious countenance, and remarkable stupidity, was their leader. Their disgrace was aggravated by the arrival of another legion from the camp at Bonn. This wretched state of captivity was rumoured about the country, and the people, who a little before shuddered at the Roman name, flocked together in crowds to behold their reverse of fortune. The fields were deserted; houses were left empty; a prodigious multitude assembled from all quarters to enjoy the novelty of the spectacle. The insolence of the rabble was more than the squadron of horse, called PICENTINA (*a*), had patience to endure. They marched off in disdain, directing their route towards Magontiacum; nor could Sanctus, their commander, by threats or menaces, divert them from their purpose. In their way they met Longinus, the murderer of Vocula, and killed him on the spot. By that sacrifice they began to expiate their own disgrace. The legions, without altering their course, proceeded to the city of the Treverians, and pitched their tents under the walls.

LXIII. Civilis and Classicus, elated with success, had it in contemplation to give the Agrippinian colony to the fury of the soldiers. Their own natural ferocity and love of plunder conspired to prompt them to this act of barbarity; but motives of policy

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counterbalanced their inclinations. They knew that to the founders of a new empire the fame of clemency is always an advantage. Civilis had other reasons: his son, on the first breaking out of the war, was taken into custody by the Agrippinians, and treated with marks of respect. Civilis felt the obligation, and gratitude touched his heart; but the nations beyond the Rhine saw the opulence of the place, and the increase of population, with an eye of envy. They insisted, that, to terminate the war, it was necessary either to make it an open city for all Germany, or to demolish it at once, and, by that stroke exterminate the Ubian race.

LXIV. The Tencterians, a people dwelling on the opposite bank of the Rhine, thought fit to send ambassadors to the Agrippinian colony, with directions to explain to an assembly of the state the sentiments of the German nations. The person among the deputies most distinguished by his ferocity spoke as follows: "That you have restored yourselves to "your country, and are become Germans in fact as "well as in name, we return thanks to the gods, "whom we adore in common, and in particular to "Mars, the supreme of deities. We congratulate "you on this great occasion: you will live, henceforward, among nations born in freedom, and you will "enjoy your natural rights. The Romans hitherto "were masters of our lands, our rivers, and even of "the elements over our heads. They excluded us "from all intercourse with you: if at any time we "were allowed access to your city, it was under the

"eye of a guard; and, what to a warlike people was "the worst indignity, we were forced to visit you "without our arms, defenceless and almost naked, "nay, obliged to pay a tax for the favour. Would you "now establish our mutual friendship on a firm "foundation? These are the conditions: demolish "the walls of your city, those monuments of your "former slavery. The fiercest animals, if you keep "them close confined, grow mild in time, and for-"get their nature. Rise at once, and by a general "massacre, extirpate the Roman race. Liberty "and the presence of a master are incompatible. "When you have destroyed your enemies, let their "goods be brought into a common stock; allow no "embezzlement, nor suffer any man to think of his "own private advantage. Our common ancestors "enjoyed both banks of the Rhine: let those rights "be now restored. The use of light and air is "given by nature to us all, and the same liberal hand "has opened to the brave and valiant a free passage "to every region of the globe. Revive the customs "of your ancestors; restore the primitive laws, and "renounce the charm of baneful pleasures. The "Romans hitherto, have waged a war of luxury, "and have succeeded more by their vices (*a*) than "by their valour. Prove yourselves Germans, shake "off the yoke; be a regenerated, a brave, unmixed, "and warlike people; you will then be upon a foot-"ing of equality with your neighbours: in time, per-"haps, you may rise to the dignity of giving laws "to others."

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LXV. The Agrippinians desired time for deliberation. If they complied with the terms, they trembled at the consequences; and, in their present condition, a peremptory refusal was more than they dared to hazard. Their answer was as follows: "As "soon as we perceived the dawn of returning liberty, "we seized the opportunity, with more zeal than "prudence, to make common cause with you and "the rest of our German relatives. But when the "Roman armies are assembling on every side, is "that a time to demolish our fortifications? The "juncture requires that we should rather add to "their strength. If, heretofore, there have been "within our territories emigrants from Italy and "the provinces of Rome, the rage of war has de-"stroyed them, or they have made their escape to "their native home. As to those who formerly "transplanted their families, and settled amongst us, "they have been for a long time part of the colony, "intermixed and blended with us by intermarriages "and the ties of consanguinity. Their descendants "are our own progeny: this is their native land, and "this their country. And are we now required to cut "the throats of our fathers, our brothers, and our "children? That black design can not be imputed to "the Tencterians. A free commerce shall be esta-"blished: all duties, that are a restraint on trade "and liberty shall be repealed. Our city shall be "open to you, but with this restriction: you must "come unarmed, and in open day, that these regu-"lations, at present new and therefore feeble, may "gain strength from time, and grow into established

"usage. We desire that Civilis and Veleda may "arbitrate between us. Under their sanction the "treaty shall be ratified." The Tencterians acquiesced. Ambassadors were sent with presents to Civilis and Veleda, and, by their mediation, all matters were adjusted to the satisfaction of the Agrippinians. The deputies, however, were not admitted to the presence of Veleda. To increase the veneration paid to her character, all access to her person was denied. She resided in the summit of a lofty tower. A near relation, chosen for the purpose, conveyed to her the several questions, and from that sanctuary brought back oracular responses, like a messenger who held commerce with the gods.

LXVI. Strengthened by his alliance with the Agrippinian colony, Civilis turned his thoughts to the neighbouring states; determined, if gentle measures proved ineffectual, to subdue them by force. The Sunicians (*a*), had already submitted to his arms, and he had formed the youth of the country capable of bearing arms into regular cohorts. To oppose his progress, Claudius Labeo advanced at the head of a considerable body of Betasians, Tungrians, and Nervians, raised by sudden levies. Having taken an advantageous post, where he commanded the bridge over the Meuse, he ventured an engagement. The battle was, for some time, fought in a narrow defile with doubtful success, till the Germans, with their usual dexterity in swimming, crossed the river, and charged Labeo's forces in the rear. Civilis, with a bold effort of courage, or in

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consequence of a preconcerted measure, rushed among the Tungrians, proclaiming aloud, "that the "object of the war was not to procure for the Bata-"vians and Treverians dominion over the nations. "We have no such arrogance, no such wild ambition. "We court your alliance: I am ready to join you; "your general, if you will; if not, a common sol-"dier." This speech had its effect. The common men felt the impression, and sheathed their swords. In that moment, Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, in behalf of themselves and their whole nation, submitted to Civilis. Labeo made his escape. The Betasians and the Nervians in like manner surrendered. Civilis incorporated them with his army, and, in a tide of success, saw his strength increasing every day. The adjacent nations were overawed by the terror of his arms, or voluntarily entered into the confederacy.

LXVII. Meanwhile, Julius Sabinus, having destroyed all public monuments of the alliance (*a*) between Rome and the Lingones, caused himself to be proclaimed by the title of Cæsar. He put himself, soon after, at the head of an undisciplined multitude of his countrymen, and marched against the Sequanians (*b*), a neighbouring state at that time faithful to Rome. The Sequanians did not decline the conflict. Fortune favoured the juster cause. The Lingones were defeated. The rashness with which Sabinus rushed on to the attack, was equalled by nothing but the precipitation with which he fled the field. He escaped to a cottage, and, in order to

spread a report of his death set fire to the place. It was generally believed that he perished in the flames. He lived nine years afterwards. The various arts by which he protracted his days, and the substerraneous places in which he lay concealed, together with the constancy of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina (*c*), shall be recorded in their proper place. The victory obtained by the Sequanians checked the progress of the war. The states of Gaul begin to think with moderation, and to reflect on the law of nations and the faith of subsisting treaties. The people of Rheims (*d*) set the example. By a proclamation dispersed through Gaul, they summoned a convention of delegates from the several provinces, in order to consult which was most for the general interest, a settled peace or a vigorous effort for the recovery of their liberty.

LXVIII. At Rome, in the mean time, these transactions, exaggerated always beyond the truth, kept Mucianus in a state of anxiety. He had already appointed Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis to command the German armies; but though they were both officers of distinguished merit, there was reason to fear that they would prove unequal to the weight of the war. Rome at the same time could not be left without a ruler. From the unbridled passions of Domitian every thing was to be apprehended. Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were both suspected. The latter commanded the prætorian guards, and, by consequence, had arms and men in his power. Mu-

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cianus removed him from his office, and, to soften his fall, made him superintendant of the public granaries. To reconcile Domitian, the known friend of Varus, to the measure, he gave the vacant post to Arretinus Clemens, a man nearly related to the house of Vespasian, and high in favour with the young prince. His father, in the reign of Caligula, held the same command, with considerable reputation. The name, Mucianus observed, would be welcome to the soldiers; and the new officer, though a member of the senate, would be able to discharge the duty of both stations. An expedition against the Germans was now a settled measure. The principal men at Rome had notice to attend the army. Numbers offered themselves with views of ambition. Domitian and Mucianus prepared to set out, but with different motives; the prince, with the ardour of youth, panting for the novelty of enterprise; Mucianus, with studied delays, endeavouring to protract the time, in order to allay the impetuosity of Domitian. A young man of his rank, hurried away by his passions, or misled by evil counsellors, might, at the head of the army, so embarrass every thing, that it would be impossible either to wage war with advantage, or to conclude an honourable peace.

Two of the victorious legions, namely, the sixth and eighth, with the twenty-first from the Vitellian party, and the second from the forces lately raised, had orders to march into Gaul by different routes; some over the Penine and Cottian Alps, and others over the Graian mountains. The fourteenth legion was recalled from Britain, and the sixth and tenth

from Spain. Alarmed by these preparations, the states of Gaul, already disposed to pacific measures, held a convention at Rheims. The deputies of the Treverians attended the meeting, and with them Tullius Valentinus, a fierce incendiary, and the most active promoter of the war. In a speech prepared for the purpose, he poured forth a torrent of declamation, abounding with all the topics of invective usually urged against the authority of extensive empires, and all the injurious reflections that could be cast on the Roman name. To inflame sedition was the talent of the man. Possessing a daring genius and a turbulent vein of eloquence, no wonder that he was the favourite orator of the vulgar.

LXIX. Julius Auspex, a leading chief among the people of Rheims, rose in opposition to the Treverian. He painted forth the power of the Romans, and the blessings of peace. "Nations," he said, "might be involved in all the calamities of war by "men of no account in the field. The coward may "begin hostilities, but the brave and valiant are left "to shed their blood in the quarrel. Even then the "Roman legions were advancing, and to oppose "them would be a vain attempt." He urged the faith of treaties, and by that consideration succeeded with men of sober judgment; the young and ardent were restrained by the magnitude of the approaching danger. All admired the spirit of Valentinus, but the advice of Auspex was adopted. The states of Gaul had not forgot, that, in the commotions excited by Vindex, the Treverians and Lingones (*a*) had

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sided with Verginius, and the conduct was still felt with resentment. The mutual jealousy with which the several provinces beheld each other, was still another reason to prevent their acting in concert. "Who was to have the conduct of the war? Under "whose auspices were the troops to take the field? "And, if their efforts were crowned with success, "where were they to fix the seat of empire?" By this spirit of emulation all were thrown into violent debate; they had gained no victory, and yet were quarrelling for the spoils. One state talked of its alliances; another was rich and powerful; a third boasted of its ancient origin, and all with arrogance claimed the superiority. The result was a general resolution to prefer their present condition to the uncertain issue of a dangerous war. Letters were dispatched to the Treverians in the name of the states of Gaul, requiring them to lay down their arms, while repentance might obtain their pardon, and their friends were ready to solicit for them. Valentinus opposed all terms of accommodation. His countrymen, by his advice, were deaf to all remonstrances. But war was not the talent of their leader. Skilled in debate, he was a factious demagogue, and an inactive soldier.

LXX. The exertions of the Treverians, the Lingones, and other revolted states, were in no proportion to the importance of the occasion. Between their generals no concerted plan, no union of counsels. Civilis traversed the defiles and devious parts of Belgia (*a*), with no object in view but that of making Labeo his prisoner, or forcing him to fly the

country. Classicus loitered away the time in indolence, pleased with his imaginary empire, and swaying a sceptre not yet in his possession. Even Tutor neglected to secure the banks of the Upper Rhine, and the passes of the Alps. In the mean time, the one-and-twentieth legion, by the way of Vindonissa, penetrated into Gaul, and Sextilius Felix, with the auxiliary cohorts, forced his way through Rhætia (*b*). He was joined by a squadron of horse, embodied first by Vitellius, and afterwards listed under Vespasian. Their commanding officer was Julius Briganticus, whose mother was the sister of Civilis. The uncle and the nephew hated each other; and, as is often the case in family quarrels, their animosity was deep, envenomed, and implacable. Tutor found means to augment his army by new musters in the country of the Vangiones (*c*), the Caracatians, and Tribocians. He added a body of Roman veterans, both horse and foot, whom he had either inveigled by promises, or compelled by menaces. A cohort detached by Sextilius Felix appeared in sight. The veteran legionaries put the whole corps to the sword; but seeing the approach of Roman generals and a Roman army, they went over to that side, and by a second desertion atoned for the disgrace of the first. The Tribocians, the Vangiones, and the Caracatians followed their example.

Tutor, being now deserted by all but his countrymen the Treverians, thought it best to make his retreat. He avoided Magontiacum, and made the best of his way to Bingium (*d*), where, having destroyed the bridge over the river Nava (*e*), he thought

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himself posted to advantage. Felix, with a cohort under his command, hung closely on his rear. Having found a fordable place, his men crossed the river, and rushed on to the attack. Tutor was put to the rout, and totally defeated. The Treverians, struck with terror, laid down their arms, and dispersed themselves about the country. Some of their chiefs, to claim the merit of a voluntary submission, fled for refuge to such states as had not joined in the revolt. The legions which had been removed, as already mentioned, from Novesium and Bonn to the territory of the Treverians, seized their opportunity to renew their oath of fidelity to Vespasian. Valentinus was absent in some other quarter. He returned, breathing vengeance, and bent on new commotions; but the legions quitted the country, and pursued their route to (*f*) Mediomatricum, a city in alliance with Rome. By the zeal and ardour of Tutor and Valentinus, the Treverians were once more incited to take up arms. To strengthen the band of union by cutting off all hopes of pardon, they murdered Herennius and Numisius, two commanders of legions; and by that exploit hoped to rouse the desperate valour of their countrymen.

LXXI. Such was the state of the war, when Petilius Cerealis reached Magontiacum. By his arrival the face of things was changed. That general, always eager to give battle, and, by his natural temper, more disposed to hold the enemy in contempt than to prevent a surprise, harangued his men, and by his manly eloquence inspired them with new ar-

dour. He desired that they would hold themselves in readiness for action, as he was resolved to seize the first opportunity that offered. The levies, which had been raised in Gaul, he ordered back to their own country, with directions to publish every where, that the legions were sufficient to defend the empire; and, therefore, that the allies might return to the employments of peace, secure from danger, since the Roman armies had taken the field. By this message the Gauls were wrought to a more pacific temper. Their young men, being thus restored to their country, they felt their tribute lighter; and, their service being no longer wanted, their zeal rose in proportion.

Civilis and Classicus saw the sad reverse of their affairs. Tutor was defeated; the Treverians were cut to pieces, and fortune began to smile on the Roman arms. In this distress, they drew together their scattered forces; taking care, in the mean time, to warn Valentinus, by repeated messengers, not to stand the hazard of a decisive engagement. Cerealis was the more impatient to strike a sudden blow. He dispatched proper officers to Mediomatricum, with orders to bring forward the legions from that place, by the shortest route. Having, in the mean time, united the soldiers stationed at Magontiacum with the forces which he brought with him from Italy, he proceeded by rapid marches, and in three days arrived at Rigodulum (*a*). At that place Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treverians, had taken post in a strong situation, defended on one side by the Moselle, and in other parts inclosed by mountains. To the natural strength of the place he added

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a deep fosse, and a rampart of stones piled on one another. The Roman general was determined to surmount all difficulties. He ordered the infantry to rush on to the assault, while the cavalry gained the higher ground. He despised an enemy consisting of new levies; an undisciplined army, to whom their fortifications could give no advantage which Roman valour was not able to conquer. The first ascent was difficult. For some time the soldiers were retarded by the missive weapons of the enemy; but in spite of every obstacle they gained the summit. A close engagement followed. The barbarians were hurled headlong from the steep, as if their fortifications tumbled down in ruins. In the mean time a party of the cavalry, having circled round the smooth edges of the hill, made the principal Belgic chiefs prisoners of war, with Valentinus, their general, in the number.

LXXII. On the following day Cerealis entered the capital of the Treverians. The soldiers panted for the destruction of the city. "It was the birth-"place of Classicus and of Tutor. By them the le-"gions had been besieged, and massacred. What "was the guilt of Cremona? That unfortunate city "checked the career of a victorious army for a sin-"gle night, and, for that offence, was swept from "the bosom of Italy. And shall a hostile city, stand-"ing on the confines of Germany, be allowed to "subsist, and even to flourish, rich with the spoil "of plundered armies, and reeking with the blood "of slaughtered generals? Let the booty be added

"to the public treasure; but let the place be wrapt "in flames, and the whole colony laid in ruins. That "just revenge would atone for the loss of so many "Roman camps. The soldiers ask no more." Cerealis dreaded the consequence of suffering his army to retaliate by acts of cruelty, which he knew would brand his name with infamy. He checked the fury of his men and they obeyed. The rage of civil war was over, and against foreign enemies there was nothing to embitter the soldier's mind. There was, besides, another object, that touched every heart with compassion. The legions from Mediomatricum presented a spectacle truly wretched. Conscious of their guilt, they stood with their eyes fixed on the ground. Between the two armies no mutual salutation passed. The men in disgrace heard the words of consolation from their friends, and made no answer. They retired in silence to their tents, wishing to hide themselves from the face of day. Fear made no part of their distress. They felt the infamy of their conduct, and shame and anguish of heart overwhelmed them. Even the men, who were flushed with their recent victory, stood at gaze in mute astonishment. They pitied their fellow-soldiers, but did not dare to raise their voices in their favour. They showed their compassion by their pathetic silence, and interceded for them with their tears. Cerealis removed all cause of apprehension. He declared that all that had happened, either in consequence of dissensions among the superior officers, by sedition among the soldiers, or the treachery of the enemy, was the effect of fatal

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necessity. "But now," he said, "the revolted soldiers are once more the soldiers of their country. "From this day you are enlisted in the service, and "from this day you are bound by the oath of fidelity. The emperor has forgot all that has happened, and your general will remember nothing." The penitent troops were admitted into the camp; and the general gave out in orders to every company, that no man should presume, upon any occasion, public or private, to mention the revolt of the legions, or the disasters that happened afterwards.

LXXIII. Cerealis, without loss of time, called an assembly of the Treverians and Lingones. His speech was to the following effect: "Eloquence is "not my province: it is a talent which I never cultivated. Arms have been my profession: in the "field of battle I have given you a proof of Roman "valour. But words, and what you call eloquence, "are, in your estimation, superior gifts, of power to "change the colours of good and evil. It is not by "the nature of things that you form your judgment: "the speech of a seditious incendiary has more "weight and influence. But a few plain words may "prove a seasonable antidote. I shall, therefore, explain myself to you on certain points, which, now "the war is over, it will be more your interest to "hear than mine to enforce. When the Roman "generals at the head of their armies entered your "territories, and the other provinces of Gaul, they "were neither led by their own ambition, nor the "lust of conquest. They were invited by your an-

"cestors at that time torn by intestine divisions, "and driven to the brink of ruin. You had called "the Germans to your aid, and those barbarians "proved the worst of tyrants: they enslaved, with-"out distinction, those who invited them, and those "who resisted. The battles which Rome has fought "with the Teutones (*a*) and the Cimbrians, need "not be mentioned. Her wars in Germany, and the "toil and vigour of her legions, with the various "events that followed, are all sufficiently known. If "the legions seized the banks of the Rhine, can the "defence of Italy be deemed the motive? The pro-"tection of Gaul was the object, that another Ario-"vistus (*b*) may not aspire to reign over you. And "do you now imagine that Civilis, or the Bata-"vians, or the nations beyond the Rhine, have that "affection for you and your welfare which your "forefathers never experienced from their ancestors? "The same motives, that first incited the Germans "to cross the Rhine, will ever subsist: ambition, "avarice and the love of new settlements, will be "perpetual incentives. The Germans will be ready, "at all times, to change their swampy fens and "barren deserts for your fertile plains and fruitful "valleys. On your own soil they wish to lord it "over you. They come to ravage your lands, and "liberty is the pretext. But the rights of man, and "other specious names, are the language of all who "want to usurp dominion over others.

LXXIV. "Your country, till you put yourselves "under our protection, was at all times harassed

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"with wars, and oppressed by tyrants. Rome has "been often insulted, often provoked by the unruly "spirit of the Gauls; and what has been the use of "her victories? She required no more at your hands "than what was necessary for the aid of a govern- "ment that defends and protects you (*a*). To main- "tain the tranquillity of nations, arms are necessary; "soldiers must be kept in pay; and without a tri- "bute from the provinces, how are supplies to be "raised? In common with the citizens of Rome "you enjoy every benefit. Our legions are often "commanded by you; you are governors of your "own provinces, and even of others subject to the "empire. All posts of honour are open to you; "nothing is precluded. Does a virtuous prince "reign at Rome? though placed at a distance, you "feel the mildness of his government. Does a tyrant "rule with an iron rod? his weight is felt by those "immediately within his reach. Natural evils, such "as incessant rains, and barren seasons, you are "forced to bear (*b*): political evils, such as the "avarice and prodigality of princes, should in like "manner be endured. As long as there are men, "there will be vices. But vice is not without in- "terruption. Better times succeed, and the virtue "of a good prince atones for antecedent evils. But, "perhaps, you expect from Tutor and from Clas- "sicus a mild and equitable reign. Under their "auspices armies must be raised to repel the Ger- "mans and the Britons; and this, you fancy, will "be done with lighter taxes than you pay at pre- "sent. Overturn the Roman power, (may the gods

"avert so dire a calamity!) and what think you will "be the consequence? The nations will rise in "arms, and the world will be a theatre of war. "During a space of eight hundred years, the mighty "fabric of the empire has been raised by the valour "of the legions, and a series of victories; nor can "that fabric be rent from its foundation, without "burying all who prevail against it in one general "ruin. In that scene of wild commotion, Gaul will "be the sufferer. You have gold and riches, those "great incentives of ambition, and the prime cause "of war. Peace is your interest. Cherish it, there-"fore, and honour the city of Rome; a city, that "protects her subjects, and is ever ready to receive "the conquered upon equal terms with her own "native inhabitants. Take warning from your own "experience: you have known the smiles and the "frowns of fortune; it will now be yours to show "that you have the wisdom to prefer to a revolt, "which may involve you all in ruin, a pacific tem-"per, and a due regard to your own internal hap-"piness." This speech revived the drooping spirits of the Gauls. They expected to be treated with rigour, and their fears were dissipated.

LXXV. The Romans were in possession of the Treverian state, when Cerealis received letters from Civilis and Classicus, in substance as follows: "Vespasian is no more; though the secret is sup-"pressed with care, the fact is well known. Italy "and Rome are reduced to the last extremity, by "their own dissensions. Domitian and Mucianus

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"are high-sounding names, yet signify nothing. If "Cerealis aspired to the sovereignty of Gaul, Civi-"lis and Classicus would rest contented with the "Batavian dominions. If he preferred the decision "of the sword, they were willing to try the fortune "of the field." To this message Cerealis returned no answer, but sent the letter, and the person that brought it, to Domitian. Meanwhile, the barbarians, in detached parties, came pouring down from every quarter. Cerealis was censured for suffering an army to be assembled, when he might have attacked the enemy in separate divisions before they formed a junction. He had even neglected to fortify his camp, and at last contented himself with a fosse and a palisade.

LXXVI. The chiefs of the German army were divided in opinion about their future operations. Civilis was for waiting till the nations arrived from the other side of the Rhine. "The Romans," he said, "would shrink with terror from the approach "of those gallant warriors. The Gauls were of "no account; a race of dastards, and the ready "prey to the conqueror. The Belgians are the "strength of their nation; and yet those states are "either in arms against the Romans, or with us in "their hearts." Tutor opposed this advice. "By "protracting the war, the enemy would gain time "to augment their army. Their legions were advan-"cing on every side. One was already arrived from "Britain, others were on their march from Spain, "and more from Italy; all hardy veterans, inured to "the fatigue and the perils of war. The Germans,

"for whom we are desired to wait, are strangers to "discipline; men unaccustomed to obey their offi-"cers, without any other guide than their own "caprice, and the impulse of the moment. Besides "this, they are a venal race; money is their passion, "and with those sinews of war the Romans are "best provided. And when the price of inactivity "is equal to the wages of war, what soldier will not "prefer the former? If we offer battle, what force "has Cerealis to bring against us? His legions are "the poor remains of the German army, the refuse "of the sword, all lately bound by solemn oaths to "the empire of the Gauls. On what does the "Roman found his hopes? He put to the rout an "undisciplined handful of men under the conduct "of Valentinus; but that very circumstance will be "his ruin. The general and his army are inspired "with a fit of valour, and will soon have reason to "repent of their rashness. Let him hazard an en-"gagement: it will not be with Valentinus, a young "orator, fluent in words, but of no skill in war: the "affair will be with Civilis and with Classicus. The "sight of those chiefs will cover the legions with "consternation: their defeat, their flight, their fa-"mine, and their ignominious surrender, will all be "present to their minds, and all will plunge them "in despair. As to the Treverians and Lingones, "will they be faithful to the Romans? Remove their "fears (*a*), and the next moment they are on our "side." Such was the advice of Tutor. Classicus adopted it, and the measure was forthwith carried into execution.

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LXXVII. The chiefs drew up their men in order of battle. In the centre they stationed the Ubians and Lingones, the Batavian cohorts in the right wing, the Bructerians and Tencterians in the left. They resolved to attack the Romans in their camp. One division poured down from the hills, while the rest advanced with rapidity over the plains that lay between the high road and the Moselle. The blow was struck with such sudden vigour, that Cerealis, who passed the night out of his camp, received in bed the news of the attack and the defeat. He gave no credit to the account, but persisted with anger to condemn the folly of the messengers, till he saw a scene of carnage. The Germans had forced the entrenchments; the cavalry was routed; and the bridge over the Moselle, which made a communication between the Treverians and the Agrippinians, was in possession of the enemy. Undismayed in the moment of danger, he rushed forward, without waiting for his armour, to retrieve the loss. He threw himself into the middle of the fray, and faced every danger, defying darts and javelins, animating the brave, and stopping such as fled from their post. His example roused a spirit of emulation. Numbers went to his assistance. His happy temerity recovered possession of the bridge, and that important pass was secured by a chosen band.

Cerealis returned to the camp. He there saw the legions which had been captured at Novesium and Bonn, dispersed in wild disorder, their standards well nigh abandoned, and the eagles in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Enraged at the

sight, he exclaimed aloud, "It is not Flaccus, it is "not Vocula, whom you thus abandon; against me "you have no charge of treachery. The confidence "which I reposed in you is my only crime. I was "weak enough to believe that you repented of your "submission to the empire of Gaul: I thought you "capable of remembering, with remorse, your vio-"lated oath of fidelity to your country: but I was "too credulous. Add me to the list of your mur-"dered generals; stretch me in death with Heren-"nius and Numisius; let it be the fate of all your "commanders to perish by the hands of their sol-"diers, or to be butchered by the enemy (*a*). Go, "tell Vespasian, or if you will, tell Classicus and "Civilis (for they are nearer), tell the barbarians all "your brave exploits, and make it a merit with "them that you have deserted your general. But "remember that the legions are at hand. They "will revenge my death, and your crimes will not "remain unpunished."

LXXVIII. These reproaches were founded in truth: the tribunes and other officers urged the same topics. The soldiers rallied, but could only form in cohorts or in separate companies. Surrounded as they were by the enemy, and forced to engage within the entrenchments, amidst the tents and baggage, they were not able to present a regular line of battle. Tutor, Classicus, and Civilis, at the head of their respective divisions, enacted wonders. They invited the Gauls to liberty, the Batavians to immortal glory, and the Germans to the plunder of

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the camp. All things conspired in their favour, till the one-and-twentieth legion, finding an open space, drew up in regular order, and after sustaining for some time the shock of superior numbers, turned the fortune of the day. The gods in that moment became propitious to the cause of Rome. Nothing but their special protection could work that wonderful change, in consequence of which, the conquerors, who the instant before were bearing down all opposition, fled in a sudden panic from inferior numbers. Their consternation, as they declared afterwards, was occasioned by the cohorts that rallied after their defeat, and showed themselves on the ridge of the hills. They seemed to the Batavians a reinforcement just arrived. But the fact is, their love of plunder was the cause of their ruin. When they had gained the advantage, and ought to have pursued it, they began to quarrel among themselves for their share of the booty. On the other hand Cerealis, by his negligence, well nigh lost his army; but his bravery afterwards redeemed his character. Determined to make the best use of his victory, he took the enemy's camp on that very day, and razed it to the ground.

LXXIX. The interval allowed to the soldiers to repose from their fatigue was but short. Cerealis marched to the Agrippinian colony, where the inhabitants were ready to deliver up the wife and sister of Civilis, with the daughter of Classicus, all three left in their hands as hostages for the due performance of mutual treaties. They had, at this time,

massacred all the Germans throughout their colony. For this act they dreaded the vengeance of an enraged nation, and applied for succours, before the enemy could be again in force to renew the campaign, and revenge their slaughtered countrymen. For that purpose Civilis had already planned his measures. He depended on the assistance of a cohort of distinguished bravery, composed of Chaucians and Frisians, and, as he imagined, safely posted at Tolbiacum (*a*), in the Agrippinian territory. At the head of this resolute band he had projected a sudden attack, but, on the road, had the mortification to hear that those gallant soldiers were all destroyed. They had been invited by the Agrippinians to a sumptuous feast, and in the night, as they lay oppressed with sleep and wine, their cottages being set on fire, the whole cohort perished in one general conflagration. At the same time, Cerealis made a forced march to the relief of the city. Civilis had now another care to distract his attention. He saw that the fourteenth legion, co-operating with the fleet from Britain, might harass the Batavians on the sea-coast, and lay waste the country. That legion, however, marched over land (*b*), under the conduct of Fabius Priscus, to invade the Tungrians and the Nervians. Those two states submitted to the Romans. The Caninefates, in the mean time, attacked the fleet, and either sunk or took the greatest part. By the same people a large body of the Nervians, who had taken up arms in favour of the Romans, was totally overthrown. Classicus, in another part of the country, fell in with a party of horse, detached

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by Cerealis to Novesium, and engaged them with good success. These, it is true, were petty advantages; but, being frequent, they tarnished the fame of the victory lately obtained by Cerealis.

LXXX. During these transactions, Mucianus, who was still at Rome, ordered the son of Vitellius (*a*) to be put to death. Political necessity was the colour which he gave to this proceeding: if the seeds of discord were not destroyed, the rude scene of civil commotion would never be closed. He still continued to foster ill will to Antonius, and, for that reason, excluded him from the train appointed to attend Domitian into Gaul. The affections of the army, he well knew, were fixed on a general, who had led them on to victory; and such was the pride of Antonius, that so far from bending to a superior, he could not brook an equal. Being superseded by Mucianus, he set out, in disgust, to join Vespasian. The reception which he met with from the emperor, though it bore no marks of displeasure, did not, however, answer his expectation. Vespasian was divided between opposite motives: he knew that the services of Antonius were too glaring to be overlooked, and that the war was terminated by his ability; but still Mucianus, by his letters, continued to infuse the rancour of his own private animosity. The courtiers were also leagued against Antonius: they represented him in odious colours; as a man of high ambition, fierce, and overbearing. Nor did their malice fail to revive the reproaches of his former conduct (*b*). Antonius was at no pains to soften

prejudice. His arrogance provoked new enemies. He magnified his own exploits, and talked in degrading terms of other officers, particularly of Cæcina, a man, he said, of an abject spirit, who had surrendered with disgrace (*c*). By this conduct Antonius gave umbrage to all. His consequence declined, and the emperor, still preserving the exteriors of friendship, lost all affection for his person.

LXXXI. Vespasian passed some months at Alexandria, having resolved to defer his voyage to Italy till the return of summer, when the winds, blowing in a regular direction, afford a safe and pleasant navigation. During his residence in that city, a number of incidents (*a*), out of the ordinary course of nature, seemed to mark him as the particular favourite of the gods. A man of mean condition, born at Alexandria, had lost his sight by a defluxion on his eyes. He presented himself before Vespasian, and, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the emperor to administer a cure for his blindness. He came, he said, by the admonition of Serapis (*b*), the god, whom the superstition of the Egyptians holds in the highest veneration. The request was, that the emperor, with his spittle, would condescend to moisten the poor man's face and the balls of his eyes. Another, who had lost the use of his hands (*c*), inspired by the same god, begged that he would tread on the part affected. Vespasian smiled at a request so absurd and wild. The wretched objects persisted to implore his aid. He dreaded the ridicule of a vain attempt; but the importunity of the men,

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and the crowd of flatterers, prevailed upon the prince not entirely to disregard their petition.

He ordered the physicians to consider among themselves whether the blindness of the one, and the paralytic affection of the other, were within the reach of human assistance. The result of the consultation was, "that the organs of sight were not so "injured, but that, by removing the film or cataract, "the patient might recover. As to the disabled limb, "by proper applications and invigorating medicines, "it was not impossible to restore it to its former "tone. The gods, perhaps, intended a special re-"medy, and chose Vespasian to be the instrument "of their dispensation. If a cure took place, the "glory of it would add new lustre to the name of "Cæsar; if otherwise, the poor men would bear the "jests and raillery of the people." Vespasian, in the tide of his affairs, began to think that there was nothing so great and wonderful, nothing so improbable or even incredible, which his good fortune would not accomplish. In the presence of a prodigious multitude, all erect with expectation, he advanced with an air of serenity, and hazarded the experiment. The paralytic hand recovered its functions, and the blind man saw the light of the sun. By living witnesses, who were actually on the spot, both events are confirmed at this hour, when deceit and flattery can hope for no reward (*d*).

LXXXII. Vespasian was now determined to visit the sanctuary of Serapis, in order to consult the god about the future fortune of the empire. Having given

orders to remove all intruders, he entered the temple. While he adored the deity of the place, he perceived, in the midst of his devotion, a man of principal note among the Egyptians advanced behind him (*a*). The name of this person was Basilides, who at that moment, was known to be detained by illness at the distance of several miles. Vespasian inquired of the priests, whether they had seen Basilides that day in the temple. He asked a number of others, whether they had met him in any part of the city. At length, from messengers whom he dispatched on horseback, he received certain intelligence, that Basilides was no less than fourscore miles distant from Alexandria. He concluded, therefore, that the gods had favoured him with a preternatural vision, and from the import of the word BASILIDES (*b*), he inferred an interpretation of the decrees of Heaven in favour of his future reign.

LXXXIII. Concerning the origin of the god Serapis, a subject hitherto untouched by the Roman writers, the account given by the priests of Egypt is as follows: At the time when Ptolemy, the first of the Macedonian race, who settled the government of Egypt, had raised walls and ramparts to defend the new built city of Alexandria, and afterwards gave a temple and the rites of national worship, a youth of graceful mien, and size above the human form, appeared to him in a midnight vision, commanding him to send some of his trusty friends as far as Pontus, to bring from that place into Egypt the statue of the preternatural being then before

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him. By his compliance with those directions the prosperity of the whole kingdom would be advanced, and the city which should be so happy as to possess that valuable treasure, would be great among the nations. In that instant the youth was seen mounting to heaven in a column of fire. Ptolemy had recourse to the Egyptain priests, the usual intrepreters of dreams and prodigies. But those religionists had no knowledge of Pontus, nor of any foreign modes of worship. Timotheus, the Athenian, a man descended from the race of the Eumolpides (*a*), was called in to their assistance. Ptolemy had, before this time, invited him from the city of Eleusis, to preside over the mysteries and the established worship of the country. He now desired Timotheus to explain what god had visited the king in his dreams, and what were the rites and ceremonies of his new religion. Timotheus addressed himself to such as had travelled into Pontus, and, upon inquiry, learned that there was in those parts a city called Sinope (*b*), and near it a temple of great celebrity, sacred to Pluto. Such was the opinion of the natives, founded on tradition, and confirmed by the statue of the god erected in the temple, with a female form at his side, supposed to be Proserpina. Ptolemy, like other kings, was easily alarmed; but soon recovering from his apprehensions, forgot the whole business, addicting himself entirely to his pleasures, and little solicitous about religious matters. The same form appeared to him a second time, arrayed in terror, and in a tone of menace denouncing vengeance on the king and his whole empire, if the orders already

given were not obeyed. After this visitation Ptolemy sent his deputies with magnificent presents to Scydrothemis, the prince then on the throne of Sinope. The ambassadors had it in their instructions to touch at the isle of Delos, there to consult the Pythian Apollo. They sailed with favourable winds, and had a quick passage. The answer of the oracle was in explicit terms: "Pursue your course, carry off the "statue of my father, and let that of my sister be "unremoved."

LXXXIV. Having reached Sinope, they presented their gifts, and opened their commission to Scydrothemis. That monarch hesitated for some time. He dreaded the displeasure of an angry deity; the clamours of his people alarmed him; and, at times, the gifts and presents of the ambassadors dazzled his imagination. The business remained three years in suspense. Ptolemy never desisted from his purpose. He renewed his entreaties; he omitted no arts of persuasion; he added new dignities to his embassy, increased the number of ships, and made his presents still more magnificent. A dreadful vision appeared to Scydrothemis, threatening dreadful consequences, if he persisted in his opposition to the measures of a god. The king fluctuated between opposite counsels. His delay was punished by a variety of disasters, by sore disease, the manifest signs of divine vengeance, and calamities increasing every day. In that distress he called an assembly of the people, and laid before them the orders of the god,

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the visions of Ptolemy, as well as those which he saw himself, and the miseries that threatened the whole community. The populace clamoured in opposition to their sovereign. They envied the Egyptian monarch, and, trembling for themselves, rushed in a body to guard the avenues of the temple. Common fame, at all times delighting in the marvellous, spread a report, that the god, of his own motion, quitted the temple, and embarked on board one of the vessels that lay at anchor in the harbour. To complete the miracle, though a large tract of sea divided Sinope from Alexandria, the voyage was performed in less than three days. A temple, such as suited a great and opulent city, was built at a place called Rhacotis (*a*), where, in ancient times, a chapel had been dedicated to Serapis and Isis.

Such is the history of the god Serapis, and his first introduction into Egypt. There is, however, a different account, which places the whole transaction in the reign of the third Ptolemy, who, it is said, brought the statue from Seleucia, a city of Syria: others assert, that it was found at Memphis (*b*), the celebrated capital of ancient Egypt. Concerning the god himself the opinions of antiquarians are not less at variance. On account of his healing art, he is by some called Æsculapius; by others, Osiris, the most ancient deity of the country; and many, who think him the governing mind of the universe, give him the name of Jupiter. But the prevailing doctrine maintains that Pluto is the true deity. That hypothesis is either founded on the

reasoning of mystic interpreters, or confirmed by certain symbols, that manifest the attributes of the god.

LXXXV. We return to the affairs of Rome. Domitian and Mucianus set out on their expedition. They had hardly reached the foot of the Alps, when they received advice of the victory gained by Cerealis over the Treverians. Of this news they entertained no doubt when they saw Valentinus (*a*), brought in a prisoner, loaded with irons. Even in ruin that gallant chief appeared with a mind unconquered. The spirit that animated him in the field, was still visible in his countenance. He was heard in vindication of his conduct; but curiosity and a desire to try the spirit of the man were the only motives. Being condemned to suffer death, he persevered with unshaken constancy. In his last moments he was told, with an air of insult, that his country was reduced to subjection; he calmly answered, "You have reconciled me to my fate: I "die without regret." Mucianus thought it time to change the plan of his expedition. The design had been long rolling in his mind, though he now started it as a new scheme suggested by the events of war. "The gods (he said) had favoured the Ro-"man arms, and crushed the turbulent spirit of the "enemy. At such a time, it would ill become Do-"mitian to snatch the laurel from the brow of the "general who had fought with such brilliant suc-"cess. If the majesty of the empire, or the security

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"of the provinces of Gaul, were exposed to danger, the crisis would be worthy of the emperor's son; but the Caninefates and the Batavians were the proper quarry of inferior commanders. The prince might now proceed as far as Lyons. At that place he might display the pomp of imperial grandeur, superior to the little ambition of engaging in petty skirmishes, yet near at hand, and ready, if occasion called, to undertake a great and important enterprise."

LXXXVI. The veil was too thin to hide the designs of Mucianus; but to yield to his artifice, without seeming to detect it, was judged the best policy. Domitian proceeded to Lyons. At that place he is said, by secret messengers, to have tampered (*a*) with Cerealis, in order to sound the disposition of that officer, and learn beforehand, whether, on the appearance of the prince at the head of the army, he would be willing to resign the command. Whether Domitian had it in contemplation to levy war against his father, or to strengthen himself against his brother Titus, remains uncertain. Cerealis had the wisdom to decline the overture, considering it as nothing more than the vain project of youth and inexperience. Domitian saw himself slighted by the superior officers, and, in disgust, withdrew from all public business, never interfering afterwards, nor taking upon him to direct in such inferior matters as had been heretofore committed to his authority. With a specious appearance of humble content and

modesty, he chose to live in solitude, pretending that poetry and literary pursuits (*b*) were his only passion. Under this artful disguise he hoped to conceal the native passions of his heart, and to give no jealousy to his brother. From his own frame of mind he judged of Titus, commenting with malignity on the milder virtues that adorned the character of that amiable prince.

END OF BOOK IV.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

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BOOK V.

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These transactions passed in the

YEAR OF ROME,	OF CHRIST.	CONSULS.
823	70	Flavius Vespasianus; Titus, his Son.

THE

HISTORY

OF

TACITUS.

BOOK V.

BOOK V.

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I. In the beginning of this year, Titus was appointed by his father to complete the reduction of Judæa. This young commander (*a*), while Vespasian was yet no higher than a subject, had gained a reputation for brave exploit and military talents. His fame and authority were now in their meridian splendour. The armies of the empire and the several provinces exerted themselves with emulation to assist him in his enterprise. Titus on his part made it his study to show himself superior to the fortuitous advantages of his station. Active in the field, and elegant in his manners, he endeavoured to merit esteem by affability and a strict discharge of his duty. He attended the works; he marched in the ranks, and mixed with the common soldiers, without impairing the dignity of his character. He

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was received in Judæa at the head of three legions, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth (*b*); all experienced veterans, who had served under Vespasian. To these were added the twelfth, from Syria; and the third, and twenty-second, from Alexandria. He had, besides, twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse. The two kings, Agrippa and Sohemus, joined his standard. Antiochus sent the forces of his kingdom. A formidable body of Arabs, with that animosity which often embitters neighbouring nations against each other, took the field as avowed enemies of the Jewish nation. The number that passed over from Rome and Italy, to serve as volunteers under a prince not yet decided in his friendships, was considerable. With this force Titus advanced into the enemy's country in order of battle, by his scouts exploring the motions of the enemy, and always prepared for action. In this manner he arrived at Jerusalem, and encamped before the town.

II. Being now to relate the progress of a siege that terminated in the destruction of that once celebrated city, it may be proper to go back to its first foundation, and to trace the origin of the people (*a*). The Jews, we are told, were natives of the isle of Crete. At the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, they abandoned their habitations, and gained a settlement at the extremity of Libya. In support of this tradition, the etymology of their name is adduced as a proof. Mount Ida, well known to fame, stands in the isle of Crete:

the inhabitants are called Idæans; and the word, by a barbarous corruption, was changed afterwards to that of Judæans (*b*). According to others, they were a colony from Egypt, when that country, during the reign of Isis, overflowing with inhabitants, poured forth its redundant numbers under the conduct of Hierosolymus and Juda. A third hypothesis makes them originally Æthiopians (*c*), compelled by the tyranny of Cepheus, the reigning monarch, to abandon their country. Some authors contend that they were a tribe of Assyrians (*d*), who for some time occupied a portion of Egypt, and, afterwards transplanting themselves into Syria, acquired in their own right a number of cities, together with the territories of the Hebrews. There is still another tradition, which ascribes to the Jews a more illustrious origin, deriving them from the ancient Solymans (*e*), so highly celebrated in the poetry of Homer. By that people the city was built, and from its founder received the name of Hierosolyma.

III. In this clash of opinions, one point seems to be universally admitted. A pestilential disease, disfiguring the race of man, and making the body an object of loathsome deformity (*a*), spread all over Egypt. Bocchoris, at that time the reigning monarch, consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon (*b*), and received for answer, that the kingdom must be purified, by exterminating the infected multitude, as a race of men detested by the gods. After diligent search, the wretched sufferers were collected together, and in a wild and barren desert (*c*) abandoned

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to their misery. In that distress, while the vulgar herd was sunk in deep despair, Moses, one of their number, reminded them, that, by the wisdom of his counsels, they had been already rescued out of impending danger. Deserted as they were by men and gods, he told them, that if they did not repose their confidence in him, as their chief by divine commission, they had no resource left. His offer was accepted. Their march began, they knew not whither. Want of water (*d*) was their chief distress. Worn out with fatigue, they lay streched on the bare earth, heartbroken, ready to expire, when a troop of wild asses (*e*), returning from pasture, went up the steep ascent of a rock covered with a grove of trees. The verdure of the herbage round the place suggested the idea of springs near at hand. Moses traced the steps of the animals, and discovered a plentiful vein of water. By this relief the fainting multitude was raised from despair. They pursued their journey for six days (*f*) without intermission. On the seventh they made halt, and, having expelled the natives, took possession of the country, where they built their city, and dedicated their temple.

IV. In order to draw the bond of union closer, and to establish his own authority, Moses gave a new form of worship, and a system of religious ceremonies, the reverse of every thing (*a*) known to any other age or country. Whatever is held sacred by the Romans (*b*), with the Jews is profane; and what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is fully established. The figure of the animal

(*c*), that guided them to refreshing springs, is consecrated in the sanctuary of their temple. In contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they sacrifice a ram. The ox (*d*), worshipped in Egypt for the god Apis, is slain as a victim by the Jews. From the flesh of swine they abstain altogether. An animal, subject to the same leprous disease (*e*) that infected their whole nation, is not deemed proper food. The famine, with which they were for a long time afflicted, is frequently commemorated (*f*) by a solemn fast. Their bread, in memory of their having seized a quantity of grain to relieve their wants (*g*), is made without leaven. The seventh day (*h*) is sacred to rest, for on that day their labours ended; and such is their natural propensity to sloth, that, in consequence of it (*i*), every seventh year is devoted to repose and sluggish inactivity. For this septennial custom, some account in a different manner: they tell us, that it is an institution in honour of Saturn (*k*), either because the Idæans, expelled, as has been mentioned, from the isle of Crete, transmitted to their posterity the principles of their religious creed, or because, among the seven planets, that govern the universe, Saturn moves in the highest orbit (*l*), and acts with the greatest energy. It may be added, that the period, in which the heavenly bodies perform their revolutions, is regulated by the number seven (*m*).

V. These rites and ceremonies, from whatever source derived, owe their chief support to their antiquity. They have other institutions, in themselves

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corrupt, impure, and even abominable, but eagerly embraced, as if their very depravity (*a*) were a recommendation. The scum and refuse of other nations, renouncing the religion of their country, flocked in crowds to Jerusalem, enriching the place with gifts and offerings. Hence the wealth and grandeur of the state. Connected amongst themselves by the most obstinate and inflexible faith (*b*), the Jews extend their charity to all of their own persuasion, while towards the rest of mankind they nourish a sullen and inveterate hatred. Strangers are excluded from their tables. Unsociable to all others, they eat and lodge with one another only; and, though addicted to sensuality, they admit no intercourse with women from other nations. Among themselves their passions are without restraint. Vice itself is lawful (*c*). That they may know each other by distinctive marks, they have established the practice of circumcision (*d*). All who embrace their faith, submit to the same operation. The first elements of their religion teach their proselytes to despise the gods, to abjure their country, and forget their parents, their brothers, and their children. To encourage their own internal population is a great object of their policy. No man is allowed to put his children (*e*) to death. The souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal. Hence two ruling passions; the desire of multiplying their species, and a fixed contempt of death. The bodies of the deceased are never burned (*f*), they choose rather to inter them, after the example of the Egyptians. With that people they agree in their belief of

a future state; they have the same notion of departed spirits (*g*), the same solicitude, and the same doctrine. With regard to the Deity (*h*) their creed is different. The Egyptians worship various animals, and also certain symbolical representations, which are the work of man; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and him they see in the mind's eye, and him they adore in contemplation, condemning, as impious idolators, all who with perishable materials, wrought into the human form, attempt to give a representation of the Deity. The God of the Jews is the great governing mind (*i*), that directs and guides the whole frame of nature, eternal, infinite, and neither capable of change, nor subject to decay. In consequence of this opinion, no such thing as a statue was to be seen in their city, much less in their temples. Flattery had not learned to pay that homage to their own kings, nor were they willing to admit the statues of the Cæsars. Their priests, it is true, made use of fifes and cymbals: they were crowned with wreaths of ivy (*k*), and a vine wrought in gold was seen in their temple. Hence some have inferred, that Bacchus, the conqueror of the East, was the object of their adoration. But the Jewish forms of worship have no conformity to the rites of Bacchus. The latter have their festive days, which are always celebrated with mirth and carousing banquets. Those of the Jews are a gloomy ceremony, full of absurd enthusiasm, rueful, mean, and sordid (*l*).

VI. The country of Judæa is bounded on the east by Arabia (*a*); on the south by Egypt; on the

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west by Phœnicia and the sea; the northern frontier stretches to a great length along the confines of Syria. The natives are strong, and patient of labour. The climate is dry and sultry; rain is seldom seen, and the soil is rich and fertile. Besides the fruits known in Italy, the palm and balm tree flourish in great luxuriance. The palm is beautiful as well as lofty; the balm is of moderate growth. Its branches, when the juices circulate, seem to call for an incision, but they dread the application of steel; the veins shrink from its approach. The operation is performed with a shell, or pointed stone. The liquor that distils from the wound is of use in medicine. Libanus is the highest mountain in the country. It rises to a great height, affording shade under its verdant groves, and even in the ardent heat of that sultry region, covered at the top with eternal snow (*b*). From this mountain the river Jordan (*c*) derives its source, and the abundance of its waters. The stream does not discharge itself into the sea: it runs into two different lakes (*d*), preserving through both a clear and unmixed current, till it loses itself in a third. The last of these lakes is of immense extent, resembling a sea, but more nauseous to the taste, and, by its fetid exhalations, pernicious to the neighbourhood. The winds occasion no undulation: the surface is never ruffled. No fish can live in these waters. The birds that love to dip the wing, avoid the place. The fluid element, for it can scarce be called water, supports, as it were on a solid expanse, whatever is thrown in. Between those who can not swim, and the perfect masters of the art, there is no

difference (*e*): all float with equal ease. At certain seasons of the year, the lake throws up a quantity of pitch (*f*), or bitumen. Experience, the mother of all useful arts, has taught men how to gather it. It is a liquid substance, naturally of a black hue. The infusion of vinegar gives cohesion to the parts. When thus condensed, it floats on the surface, and you may grasp it with your hand. Those who make it their business to collect it, draw one end into their boats; the rest of the mass follows without toil or difficulty, and continues loading the vessel, till the viscous substance is cut in two. The separation is neither made with iron nor with brass. Touch it with blood, or with linen tinged with menstrual evacuations, and the parts instantly divide. Such is the account transmitted to us by ancient authors. We learn, however, from modern experience, that this extraordinary substance, floating in heaps up and down the lake, is driven towards the shore, or easily drawn by the hand; and when the vapour that exhales from the land, or the heat of the sun, has sufficiently dried and hardened it, it is then cut asunder, like wood or stone, by wedges, or the stroke of the hatchet.

VII. At a small distance from the lake lie those wide extended plains, which tradition says were formerly a rich and fruitful country, abounding with populous cities (*a*), but long since destroyed by fire from heaven, and now a barren desert. Amidst the ruins, which still remain, we are told that the marks of celestial vengeance may be clearly

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traced, and that the soil, consumed and parched, has lost the powers of vegetation. Whatever the earth produces, whether by the prolific vigour of nature, or the cultivation of man, nothing ripens to perfection. The herbage may shoot up, and the trees may put forth their blossoms; they may even attain the usual appearance of maturity; but with this florid outside, all within turns black, and moulders into dust. To speak my own opinion, though it be true, that great and flourishing cities have been destroyed by fire from heaven, yet the desolation here described may be accounted for from natural causes. The exhalations from the lake seem sufficient to blast the vital principle of the soil, and to infect the whole atmosphere. By consequence, all manner of grain, and the fruit of the autumn, naturally perish in a climate so hostile to vegetation. The river Belus (*b*) empties itself into the sea that washes the coast of Judæa. The sands, which the stream carries down in large quantities, are taken up at its mouth, and, being mixed with nitre, dissolve by the action of fire, and soon afterwards harden into glass. The shore is of small extent, and, though constantly searched, these ingredients still remain unexhausted.

VIII. The face of the country is covered with villages. There are likewise towns of considerable note. Jerusalem is the capital. The temple is distinguished by its wealth, no less than by its magnificence. The fortifications of the city are its first defence; the royal palace is the second; the inclosure, where the temple stands, forms the third. Even a

Jews is not admitted beyond the portal. No man, except the priests, has access to the interior parts. While the Assyrians, and after them the Medes and Persians, were masters of the oriental world, the Jews, of all the nations then held in subjection, were deemed the vilest. At a subsequent period, when the Macedonian monarchy was established, Antiochus, the reigning king, formed a plan to weed out the superstition of the country. To reform, if possible, so corrupt a race, he intended to introduce the manners and institutions of Greece; but a war with the Parthians (Arsaces being then in arms) rendered that design abortive. In process of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian state was in its infancy, and the Romans were yet at a distance, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own (*a*). Their kings were soon deposed by the caprice and levity of the people. They returned, however, in a short time, and, having recovered the throne by force of arms, made the people feel the weight of their resentment. A scene of oppression followed; citizens were driven into exile; whole cities were demolished; brothers, wives, and parents, were put to death; and in short every species of cruelty, usual among despotic kings, was enforced with rigour by the usurpers. They saw that superstition is among the instruments of tyranny; and, to strengthen their ill-gotten power, they not only supported the national rites and ceremonies, but united in their own persons the sacerdotal and regal functions.

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IX. Pompey was the first Roman (*a*) that subdued the Jews. By right of conquest he entered their temple. It is a fact well known, that he found no image, no statue (*b*), no symbolical representation of the Deity; the whole presented a naked dome; the sanctuary was unadorned and simple. By Pompey's order the walls of the city were levelled to the ground, but the temple was left entire. In the civil wars that afterwards shook the empire, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Marc Antony, Pacorus (*c*), the Parthian king, made himself master of Judæa; but being, in a short time after, put to death by Ventidius, his forces retired beyond the Euphrates. Caius Sosius once more reduced the Jews to obedience. Herod (*d*) was placed on the throne by Marc Antony, and Augustus confirmed the sceptre in his hand. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon (*e*), without deferring to the authority of the emperor, usurped the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the kingdom, by an equal partition, was divided between the three sons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius, things remained in a state of tranquillity. Caligula (*f*) ordered his statue to be erected in the temple. The Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms. Caligula was assassinated, and the contest died with him. In the following reign, the Jewish kings being either dead, or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, the rest of Judæa (*g*) was converted into a Roman province. Claudius committed the administration to Roman

knights, or to his favourite freedmen. Antonius Felix (*h*) was of the latter description; a man who, from low beginnings, rose to power, and, with the true genius of a slave, exercised the tyranny of an eastern prince. He married Drusilla, the grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra. Mankind had then two extraordinary objects to gaze at; one in the person of Claudius, emperor of Rome; and the other, an enfranchised slave; each the grandson of Marc Antony (*i*).

X. The Jews, though harassed by various acts of oppression, continued to give proofs of their patient spirit, till Gessius Florus (*a*), in the character of procurator, took upon him the administration of the province. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallus (*b*), the governor of Syria, endeavoured to crush the revolt. He fought a number of battles, in most of them unsuccessful. After his death, which was, perhaps, hastened by disappointment and vexation, Vespasian, by the appointment of Nero, succeeded to the command. Supported by his great military character, and the good fortune that attended his arms, with the additional advantage of able officers under him, that general, in two summer campaigns (*c*), overran the whole country, and made himself master of all the inferior cities. Jerusalem was the only place that held out. In the following year, the war with Vitellius engaged his attention, and the Jews enjoyed an interval of repose. The peace of Italy being at length restored, foreign affairs demanded his immediate care. The

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Jews were the only nation that refused to submit. The obstinacy of that stubborn people filled Vespasian with resentment. But what sudden emergencies might involve a new reign in difficulties, could not be foreseen. In order to be prepared for all events, Vespasian judged it the wisest measure to leave his son Titus at the head of the army. The prince as already mentioned, encamped under the walls of Jerusalem, and drew out his legions in the face of the enemy (*d*).

XI. The Jews appeared in force on the plains under the ramparts, determined, if successful, to push their advantage, and, if obliged to give ground, sure of a retreat within their fortifications. The Roman cavalry, with a detachment from the light-armed cohorts, advanced to the attack. A battle was fought, but with doubtful success. The Jews took shelter within their walls, venturing, however, for several days afterwards, to sally out in small parties, till, tired by repeated losses, they resolved to shut themselves up within their fortifications. Titus prepared to carry the place by storm. To linger before it, till famine compelled a surrender, appeared unworthy of the Roman name. The soldiers were eager to brave every danger: courage, ferocity, and the hope of gaining the rewards of victory, inspired the whole army. Titus had his private motives: Rome was before his eyes; wealth and magnificence dazzled his imagination; and pleasure had its allurements. If the city was not taken by assault, a siege in form would detain him

too long from the splendid scene that lay before him. But Jerusalem stood upon an eminence, difficult of approach. The natural strength of the place was increased by redoubts and bulwarks, which, even on a level plain, would have made it secure from insult. Two hills (*a*), that rose to a prodigious height, were inclosed by walls constructed with skill, in some places projecting forward, in others retiring inwardly, with the angles so formed, that the besiegers were always liable to be annoyed in flank. The extremities of the rock were sharp, abrupt and craggy. In convenient places, near the summit, towers were raised sixty feet high, and others, on the declivity of the sides, rose no less than a hundred and twenty feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings. Above all was seen, conspicuous to view, the tower Antonia (*b*), so called by Herod, in honour of the triumvir who had been his friend and benefactor.

XII. The temple itself (*a*) was a strong fortress, in the nature of a citadel. The fortifications were built with consummate skill, surpassing in art as well as labour, all the rest of the works. The very porticos that surrounded it were a strong defence. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped under the rock. The rain water was saved in pools and cisterns. It was foreseen by the founders of the city,

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that the manners and institutions of the nations, so repugnant to the rest of mankind, would be productive of frequent wars; hence so many precautions against a siege. Since the reduction of the place by Pompey, experience taught the Jews new modes of fortification; and the corruption and venality that pervaded the whole reign of Claudius, favoured all their projects. By bribery they obtained permission to rebuild their walls (*b*). The strength of the works plainly showed that, in profound peace, they meditated future resistance. The destruction (*c*) of the rest of their cities served to increase the number of the besieged. A prodigious conflux poured in from all quarters, and among them the most bold and turbulent spirits of the nation. The city, by consequence, was distracted by internal divisions. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls forming the widest extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwise called Bargioras, commanded in the middle precinct; Eleazar kept possession of the temple. The two former commanded the greatest number of soldiers; the latter had the advantage of situation. The three parties quarrelled among themselves. Battles were fought within the walls (*d*); stratagems were practised; conflagrations destroyed parts of the city, and a large quantity of grain was consumed in the flames. Under colour of performing a sacrifice (*e*), John contrived to send a band of assassins, to cut off Eleazar and his whole party in one general massacre. By this atrocious deed he gained possession of the temple. From that time two contending

factions threw every thing into confusion, till the enemy at their gates obliged them to unite in their common defence.

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XIII. Portents and prodigies announced the ruin of the city: but a people, blinded by their own national superstition, and with rancour detesting the religion of other states, held it unlawful (*a*) by vows and victims to deprecate the impending danger. Swords were seen glittering in the air (*b*); embattled armies appeared, and the temple was illuminated by a stream of light, that issued from the heavens. The portal flew open, and a voice more than human denounced the immediate departure of the gods. There was heard, at the same time, a tumultuous and terrific sound, as if superior beings were actually rushing forth. The impression made by these wonders fell upon a few only: the multitude relied upon an ancient prophecy, contained, as they believed, in books kept by the priests, by which it was foretold, that, in this very juncture, the power of the East would prevail over the nations, and a race of men would go forth from Judæa to extend their dominion over the rest of the world. The prediction, however, couched in ambiguous terms, related (*c*) to Vespasian and his son Titus. But the Jewish mind was not to be enlightened. With the usual propensity of men ready to believe what they ardently wish, the populace assumed to themselves the scene of grandeur which the fates were preparing to bring forward. Calamity itself could not open their eyes. The number besieged in Jerusa-

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lem, including both sexes and every age, amounted, according to the best accounts, to no less than six hundred thousand (*d*). All who were capable of serving appeared in arms. The number of effective men was beyond all proportion greater than could be expected, even in so vast a multitude. The women, no less than the men, were inflamed with zeal and ardour. If doomed to quit their country, life, they declared, was more terrible than death itself. Against a city so strongly fortified, and defended by such an obstinate race, Titus saw that nothing could be done, either by surprise or a general assault. He threw up mounds and ramparts and prepared battering engines. He stationed the legions at different posts, and assigned to each a distinct share of the duty. For some time no attack was made. In the interval, the Romans prepared all the machines of war, which either the ancients had employed, or modern genius invented.

XIV. It will now be proper to return to the affairs of Germany. Civilis, after the check which he received in the country of the Treverians, recruited his army by levies made in Germany. With these forces he fixed his station in the old camp, called VETERA (*a*), depending on the strength of the place. The exploits already performed on that very spot, he hoped, would rouse the valour of his men. Cerealis followed him by rapid marches, with an army more than double his former number, having been joined by the second, the sixth, and the fourteenth legions. To these were added the

cohorts and cavalry, which had some time before received orders to come up to his assistance. They did not immediately obey; but since his victory they lost no time. The commanders on both sides were eager to engage. Delay was not the genius of either; but the two armies were separated by a marshy plain of vast extent. The natural humidity of the soil was increased by the skill of Civilis, who had contrived, by obstructions thrown across the bed of the Rhine, to stop the current, and discharge a vast body of water on the neighbouring plains. A treacherous spot like this, covered with an inundation, that concealed the solid ground, was highly disadvantageous to the Romans, who carried a weight of armour, and had no skill in swimming. The Germans, on the contrary, had every thing in their favour. To make their way through floods and rivers, was their usual practice. They were lightly armed, and their size and stature enabled them to wade through the waters.

XV. The Batavians advanced near enough to insult the Romans. An engagement followed. The legions were thrown into disorder. Their arms and horses were swallowed up in the fens, while the barbarians, acquainted with the shallows and fordable places, advanced with alacrity, yet not daring to attack the front of the lines, but making their impression on the flank and rear. The conflict had no appearance of two armies engaged on a solid plain: it resembled a naval fight, where the combatants are driven at the mercy of the waves. Wherever a firm

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footing could be found, to that spot every effort was directed. The sound, the wounded, those who could swim, and those who were unused to the waters, were all, without distinction, involved in one general scene of distress. The slaughter, however, was inconsiderable. The Germans, not daring to hazard a battle out of their fens, returned to their camp. The event of the day made the generals on both sides wish for a decisive action; but they wished with different motives. Civilis wanted to pursue his advantage, and Cerealis to retrieve his honour. Success inspired the barbarians; the Romans were roused to a sense of shame. The night was passed by both armies in a very different manner. War songs and savage uproar resounded from the German camp; the Romans continued silent, breathing revenge, and meditating future carnage.

XVI. At the return of day, Cerealis drew out his army. In the front he placed the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, and, to support them, the legions in the rear. He took post himself at the head of a chosen band, to act as occasion might require. Civilis, instead of presenting a regular line, formed his men in separate divisions. On the right stood the Batavians and Gugernians; the left was occupied by the Germans, with the Rhine on their flank. No general harangue was made to either army. The commanders, on both sides, passed through the ranks, exhorting their men as the occasion prompted. Cerealis called to mind the glory of the Roman name, and the victories of ancient as well as modern

date. "You may now," he said, "by one vigor-
"ous effort, exterminate a base, a treacherous, and
"a vanquished race. It is not a battle you are to
"expect: you are going forth the avengers of your
"country, to punish a rebellious crew. In the late
"engagement you were inferior in number, and yet
"their bravest troops fled before you. You see the
"refuse of your swords; a set of runaways, who in
"their minds still bear the galling memory of their
"late defeat, and on their backs the print of igno-
"minious wounds." He next addressed the legions, in the style peculiarly suited to each. The fourteenth he called the conquerors of Britain. The sixth raised Galba to the imperial dignity. The soldiers of the second were now to flesh their maiden swords, and in that field to consecrate their banners and their eagle. From the legions he passed to the German army, and, with hands outstretched, pointed to the fields around, and there, he said, "There
"is your station; that bank of the Rhine, and that
"camp was yours: wade through the blood of your
"enemies, and recover your own." The general was heard with shouts of applause. The whole army panted for the onset: those who were weary of a long peace, were eager to signalize their valour; while others, harassed out with the toils of war, hoped by one glorious victory, to find the end and recompense of all their labours.

XVII. In the opposite army Civilis was neither silent nor inactive. "These fields," he said, "have
"seen your brave exploits. The Batavians and the

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"Germans, at every step they take, tread on the "monuments of their own fame, and the bones of "slaughtered legions. The Romans, whichever way "they turn their eyes, have nothing before them but "memorials of their own captivity, their defeat, and "their disgrace. If in the Treverian territories the "issue of the battle was unpropitious, the event of "that day ought to make no impression. In that "field the Germans conquered; but, too eager for "plunder, they suffered the victory to be snatched "out of their hands. From that moment we have "been in a train of success, while the Romans have "had to struggle with every difficulty. Whatever "could be done by the skill of your general, has "been provided for you. Fens and marshes are the "spot where you are to engage. The depths and "shallows are known to you, and they will be the "grave of the Romans. The Rhine, and the gods of "Germany, are before you. In their view, and under "their protection, rush on to the charge; and let "each man remember, that on his sword depends "the welfare of his parents, his wife, his children, "and the liberty of his country. This day, my friends, "this important day will either prove us the glorious "rivals of our famed forefathers, or send down our "names with disgrace and infamy to the latest pos-"terity." The barbarians, according to their custom, applauded by clanking their arms (*a*), and dancing in wild distortion. They rushed on to the attack, discharging a volley of stones, and leaden balls, and other missive weapons. By this artifice they hoped to bring on an engagement in the fens; but the Ro-

mans, aware of the stratagem, remained on the solid ground.

XVIII. The barbarians exhausted their store of darts, when, the battle growing warm, they could no longer restrain their ardour. They rushed forward with impetuous fury. Their huge stature gave them every advantage. With their long spears they were able to goad and pierce the Romans, who with difficulty kept their footing on the slippery soil. A band of Bructerians had the spirit to quit the dam erected across the Rhine, and swim to the shore. The Romans were thrown into disorder. The auxiliary cohorts began to give way, when the legions advanced to sustain the fight, and stopped the progress of the enemy. The battle was now on equal terms. In that moment, a Batavian deserter informed Cerealis, that a party of cavalry might with ease wheel round the marsh, and at the further extremity attack the enemy in the rear. The ground, he said, was, in that part, dry and firm, and there the Gugernians might be taken by surprise. Two squadrons of horse, with the deserter for their guide, reached the place, and surrounded the enemy. A shout of victory gave notice of this advantage. The legions, at the same time. charged in front. The barbarians fled with precipitation towards the Rhine. Had the fleet been put in motion to second the operations of the army, that day would have closed the war. The approach of night, and a sudden storm of rain, hindered the cavalry from mixing in the action.

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XIX. On the following day, the tenth legion being arrived from Spain, Cerealis detached the fourteenth to reinforce Annius Gallus (*a*) in the upper province. Civilis at the same time was reinforced by the Chaucians; but even with those succours, he did not think himself in force to protect the Batavian cities (*b*). Content with carrying off whatever was portable, he set fire to the rest, and retired to the island. The Romans, he well knew, could not follow him without throwing up a bridge, and for that purpose they had no boats in readiness. As a further security, he had the precaution to destroy the great dam (*c*) formerly laid across the Rhine by Drusus Germanicus, leaving the river, thus freed from obstruction, to flow in its natural channel towards the confines of Gaul. The consequence was, that, the current taking a new course, the body of water, which separated the island from the main land, sunk into a scanty stream, and the space between Germany and Batavia seemed to be one continued continent. Tutor and Classicus passed over the Rhine, followed by no less than a hundred and thirteen Treverian senators (*d*). Alpinus Montanus, the deputy, sent, as above mentioned, from Cremona by Antonius Primus to the states of Gaul, was one of the number. He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinus. These men dispersed themselves among the neighbouring nations, urging every topic that could excite compassion: and by their gifts and presents, in a country fond of tumult and commotion, they raised considerable levies.

XX. Civilis found himself in a condition to rekindle the war. He formed four divisions of his army, with intent to attack on one and the same day the Roman cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions at four different posts; the tenth legion at Arenacum (*a*); the second at Batavodurum; and the auxiliaries in their entrenchments at Grinnes (*b*) and Vada. In this enterprise, Civilis headed one of the divisions; Verax, his sister's son, led the second; Classicus and Tutor had their separate commands. In these several attempts, complete success was not expected; but where much was hazarded, the issue in some quarter might be prosperous. The enemy knew that Cerealis was not an officer of the strictest caution; and therefore hoped, that, while he was distracted by different tidings, and, by consequence, obliged to hasten from one post to another, he might be somewhere intercepted on his march. The party, destined to storm the quarters of the tenth legion, judging it an enterprise of too much danger, desisted from the project; content with falling on such as were employed at a distance from the camp in hewing wood for the use of the army. In this attack, the prefect of the camp, five principal centurions, and a few soldiers were cut to pieces. The rest took shelter within the entrenchments. At Batavodurum the push of the enemy was to destroy a bridge which the Romans had in part constructed over the river. A fierce engagement followed, but the approach of night left it undecided.

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XXI. The attack at Vada, under the conduct of Civilis, and at Grinnes, led on by Classicus, were attended with greater danger to the Romans. At each place the assault was made with resistless fury. The best and bravest of the soldiers perished on the spot. Among them fell Briganticus, at the head of a squadron of horse; a man, as already stated, distinguished by his zeal in the service of Rome, and his avowed hatred of Civilis, his uncle (*a*). While the Romans were pressed on every side, Cerealis, with a select body of cavalry, came up to their relief. The fortune of the day was instantly changed. The Germans in a panic plunged into the river. Civilis attempted to stop their flight. His person being known, a shower of darts was discharged against him. He quitted his horse, and saved himself by swimming across the river. The Germans escaped by the same expedient. Tutor and Classicus were conveyed away in boats. The Roman fleet, notwithstanding positive orders, failed again to cooperate with the land forces. Several of the mariners were dispersed on different duties, and fear restrained the rest. It was the constant fault of Cerealis never to allow due time for the execution of his orders. His designs were always sudden, but the issue crowned him with glory. Where his conduct was liable to censure, fortune seemed willing to repair his error. Success made him over-sanguine, and, by consequence, discipline fell into neglect. It was but a few days after this victory that he narrowly escaped being made a prisoner. His address saved him from the hands of the enemy, but not from the disgrace of his own misconduct.

XXII. He had been as far as Bonn and Novesium to inspect the camps then carrying on at those places, for the winter quarters of the legions. He chose to return by water. Among the troops that followed his boats along the banks of the Rhine, no order was observed, no dicipline, no night watch. The Germans saw their negligence, and took their measures accordingly. They chose a night remarkably dark, and sailed down the river. They landed without opposition, and rushed immediately to the entrenchments. They began with art and stratagem. They cut the cords of the tents, and butchered the men as they lay struggling under the load. Another party, in the mean time, attacked the fleet. They fastened their grappling instruments, and began to haul off the vessels. Their first approach was conducted in silence; but the slaughter was no sooner begun, than, to increase the terror, they rent the air with shouts and savage uproar. Roused by the anguish of their wounds, the Romans started from their beds; they grasped their arms, and ran wild about the avenues of their camp; some completely armed, but the greatest part with their clothes thrown on in their hurry, and their swords in their hands. Cerealis, half asleep, and almost naked, owed his safety to a mistake. The barbarians saw the prætorian ship with a flag displayed, and, from that circumstance inferring that the general was on board, took possession of the vessel. Cerealis had passed the night in another quarter. A woman from the country of the Albians, known by the name of Claudia Sacrata, had attracted his notice;

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and the report of the army was, that, when the attack began, he was happy in her embrace. The sentinels, who had neglected the duty of their watch, made an excuse that did no honour to the general. That they might not disturb his rest, their orders were to observe the strictest silence, and, by consequence, making no signal, and using no watch-word, they themselves were overpowered with sleep. It was broad day-light when the Germans sailed back, leading with them the captured vessels, and among them the prætorian galley, which they afterwards sent by the river Luppia (*a*), as a present to Veleda.

XXIII. Civilis had the ambition to display his naval armament. For this purpose he equipped all the vessels that carried two ranks of oars, or even one. To these he added a prodigious number of small craft, among which were thirty or forty fitted out like the Roman Liburnian galleys. The vessels lately taken from the Romans carried sails made with German mantles, and with their diversity of colours presented a spectacle not unpleasing to the eye. The place chosen for this naval show was the vast bay, resembling a sea, where the Rhine discharges itself through the mouth of the Meuse (*a*) into the ocean. For fitting out this fleet Civilis had two motives; one, to gratify the national vanity of the Batavians; the second, more important, to intercept the provisions sent from Gaul for the use of the Roman army. Cerealis, at the sight of this unexpected parade, was struck with wonder; but nothing could shake his resolution. He prepar-

ed to meet the barbarians on their new element. He ordered out his fleet, inferior in number, but in the skill of the mariners, the experience of the pilots, and the size of the vessels, greatly superior. The Romans sailed with the current; the enemy had the wind in their favour. A slight engagement followed. The two fleets exchanged a flight of darts; they passed each other, and parted. This was the last effort of Civilis. He gave up all hope, and retired beyond the Rhine. Cerealis laid waste the isle of Batavia, leaving, however, the lands and houses of Civilis free from injury. This policy is not unusual among general officers. It was now the latter end of the autumn; the rainy season set in, and the river, swelled above its banks, caused an inundation throughout the island. The face of the country, naturally low and swampy, presented a vast sheet of water. No ships were at hand; the army was distressed for provisions; and the tents and baggage were washed away by the flood.

XXIV. Civilis asserted afterwards that the Roman army, in this juncture, might have been utterly destroyed, and that the Germans actually intended it, if he himself had not diverted them from the enterprise, the surrender of that chief, which followed soon after, made this account not improbable. Cerealis, by his secret agent, offered terms of peace to the Batavians; he tempted Civilis with a promise of pardon; and to Veleda and her family he held forth the advantages to be gained by terminating a war, which brought nothing but slaughter and

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calamity. "Her best policy," he said, "would be, "to entitle herself, by some meritorious act, to the "favour and protection of Rome. The Treverians "were cut to pieces, the Ubians submitted, and the "Batavians were expelled from their country. By "the friendship of Civilis, Germany had gained "nothing but slaughter, ruin, and the desolation of "families. Where is Civilis now? He roams about, "a helpless wanderer, destitute of means, a burthen "to his friends. After passing the Rhine so often, "the Germans may now be satisfied. Fresh hos-"tilities would add to their guilt. The insolence "and the crime would be on their side; on that of "Rome, the indignation of the legions, and the ven-"geance of the gods."

XXV. With this menacing strain Cerealis had the art to intermix soothing promises. The nations beyond the Rhine were weary of war. The Batavians began to open their eyes. "To persist," they said, "were to provoke their utter ruin. A single "nation could not undertake to deliver the world "from bondage. By the slaughter of the legions, "and the destruction of the Roman camps, what "had been gained? New legions, with greater vigour "and superior numbers, were poured in upon them. "If the war was waged for Vespasian, that end was "answered: Vespasian is master of the empire. If to "oppose the Roman people was the real object, the "Batavians are but a handful of men, unequal to the "task. Let us turn our eyes to Rhætia, to Nori-"cum, and the other allies of Rome. They are

"loaded with various imposts. From the Batavians "Rome exacts no tribute: men and valour are all "she asks. This may be called a state of freedom; "at the worst, it borders on civil liberty: And if we "are to choose who shall rule over us, is it not more "honourable to submit to the emperor of Rome, "than, like the Germans, to bear the infamy of a "female reign?" Such was the reasoning of the Batavian people. The nobles of the country charged every thing to the account of Civilis; "By his "headlong violence they were hurried into the war. "In the miseries of his country that restless chief "hoped to find a remedy for his ruined fortunes. "In evil hour the Batavians were advised to besiege "the legions, and to murder the commanding of-"ficers: the gods, in that moment, denounced their "vengeance on the whole nation. The war was ne-"cessary for one man, and it has been the ruin of "his country. We are now on the brink of destruc-"tion: repentance may expiate our guilt, and, by "delivering up the author of all calamity, we may "atone for past misconduct."

XXVI. Civilis knew the temper of his countrymen, and took his measures to prevent the blow. A long train of adversity had sunk the vigour of his mind; and the love of life, a passion which often enervates the noblest minds, began to exert its influence. He desired a conference. Cerealis granted it. The bridge over the Wahal (*a*) was broken down in the middle. The two chiefs advanced to the extreme points. In that situation Civilis spoke as fol-

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lows: "Were I to plead my cause before an officer "in the interest of Vitellius, I should give myself "up as lost. Pardon I should not expect, nor would "any credit be given to what I have to offer. Vitel-"lius and I were mortal foes. We acted with open, "with avowed hostility. The quarrel was begun by "him; it was inflamed by me. With Vespasian I "lived on other terms; my respect for his person "has long been known. While he was yet a private "man, he ranked me in the number of his friends. "Antonius Primus knew our connexion. By letters "from that officer (*b*) I was urged to kindle the "flame of war. I was desired to find employment "for the German legions and the states of Gaul, "that none might pass over the Alps into Italy. The "advice of Antonius, communicated by his letters, "was seconded by Hordeonius Flaccus in person. "I complied with their wishes: I appeared in arms, "and did in Germany what was accomplished by "Mucianus in Syria, by Aponius in Mæsia, and by "Flavianus in Pannonia (*c*)." * * * * * *

THE REST OF THIS BOOK IS LOST.

APPENDIX

TO THE

FIFTH BOOK.

APPENDIX.

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I. In the interview with the Roman general, Civilis endeavoured, by an artful apology, to disguise and palliate his own conduct. He had pretended, in the beginning of the war, that he took the field in the service of Vespasian; and his efforts, he now contended, were no way inferior to the Roman officers, who, in different parts of the world, exerted themselves with zeal and ardour in the same cause. He claimed the merit of having found employment in Germany for the legions devoted to the interest of Vitellius; he had carried his victorious arms to their very camp, and there obliged them to capitulate. An irruption into Italy was prevented by the vigour of his operations, and the oath of fidelity to Vespasian was enforced by his orders. He complained that those important services were by his enemies invidiously called acts of rebellion. But thus accused, and thus calumniated, could it be expected that, in such a juncture, he should sheath the sword, and by an ignominious surrender, take upon him a load of guilt? Pusillanimity and mean compliance would have been treachery to himself. He must have incurred the contempt of the legions; but he chose, by warlike enterprise, and by his

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valour in the field, to gain their applause. In the distraction of the times many things happened on both sides, rash and impetuous, and perhaps not to be justified. But where all were blameable, to settle the measure of particular guilt seemed, in his opinion, to be a fruitless inquiry. He added, that the Batavians had been at all times the faithful allies of Rome: while they were considered in that light, and not treated as a vanquished people, they were willing to maintain their old attachment with unshaken constancy. Their arms, their men, their valour were ready in the service of the empire. These, he said, were the sentiments of his countrymen; they were his principles, and the rule of his conduct. Having been the adviser of the oath to Vespasian, he was now the mediator of a general peace.

II. Cerealis heard the Batavian chief with calm attention. He went to the meeting with a pacific disposition; and, having nothing so much at heart as a compromise of all differences, he did not amuse himself with a petty controversy about inferior matters, at that time of no weight or consequence. He scorned to take notice of the fallacy with which Civilis attempted to colour his own seditious violence; and, in order effectually to restore the public tranquillity, he declared himself willing to bury all past transactions in total oblivion. Peace was established, and that part of the empire remained free from war and civil commotions.

Civilis, from that time, lost all weight and influence with his countrymen. They considered him as

the fierce incendiary, who had kindled up the flame of discord, and the author of a wide-wasting war, in which both nations saw the destruction of camps, the desolation of cities, and the slaughter of armies. Cerealis was soon after sent to command in Britain. He succeeded Vettius Bolanus, and, by his warlike spirit, revived the lustre of the Roman name, which had been impaired by the inactive genius of his predecessor.

Peace being finally concluded with the Batavians, the Lingones and other states of Gaul laid down their arms. The people saw that they were victims to the pride and wild ambition of their chiefs, and all were willing to end a bloody and destructive contest, in which desolation was the only consequence of victory. Tranquillity was restored in that part of the empire? but the troubles in Mæsia were not so easily quelled. That country continued to be the theatre of war. The Sarmatians had made an irruption, with the ferocity usual among barbarians; and having two passions to gratify, their love of plunder, and their savage delight in blood, they marked their way with carnage and destruction. A detail of their operations can not now be given. History has transmitted no memorial of those transactions. All we know is, that Fonteius Agrippa, the proconsul of Mæsia, was defeated in a pitched battle, and fell with honour amidst heaps of slain (*a*). Soon after that disaster, Rubrius Gallus was sent by Vespasian to undertake the conduct of the war. That officer restored military discipline, and revived the spirit of the legions. He sought the barbarians

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in their fastnesses, and defeated them in every encounter; hanging always upon their rear, till, at length, he chased them out of the province, and obliged them to repass the Danube. His next care was to secure the country from future incursions. For that purpose he built a chain of forts on the frontier, and leaving a strong garrison at every post, gave an effectual check to the inroads of those fierce invaders.

III. Rome had now no war upon her hands, except that in Judæa, under the conduct of Titus. The victories obtained by Vespasian, and the rapid success with which he overran the whole province of Galilee, have been already stated (*a*). That commander knew the early genius of his son; and having decided proofs of his valour and military talents, he thought proper, when his own affairs called him into Egypt, to leave Titus to reap the glory of ending the war by the conquest of Jerusalem. Tacitus has described Titus at the head of a numerous army, inspiring the soldiers with zeal and ardour by his own example, and winning all hearts by his amiable manners (*b*). We have seen him encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, throwing up towers, and preparing for the operations of a regular siege; and there, unfortunately, Tacitus leaves us. The rest of the great historian's work has perished. The loss can never be repaired; but an event so truly interesting ought not to be passed by in silence. The Jewish war, abstractedly from its connexion with religion, presents a series of calamities, and a scene

of blood and carnage, that can not be equalled in the records of any other nation. We have before us an infatuated race ripe for destruction, and by their own folly provoking the vengeance of a great and warlike nation, while internal divisions, civil discord, party rage and madness, conspire with a foreign force to accelerate the destruction of their whole nation: we see a city so strong by nature and art that it was deemed almost impregnable, burnt to the ground, and near eleven hundred thousand inhabitants perishing in the flames; a temple, in its form and structure the wonder of the world, razed to its foundation; a people driven from their native land, dispersed all over the globe to exist in wandering tribes, but to find no place where they could again become a people under their own plan of polity. These are important events; and they become more striking, when it is considered that they were foretold by Christ himself forty years before the dreadful catastrophe, in which the immediate finger and wrath of God were manifestly displayed.

IV. The natural causes which led to the destruction of Jerusalem, have been in some degree explained already, but may with propriety be retouched in this place, when we are entering on a siege that terminated in the ruin of a devoted people. The mad ambition of Caligula to have his statue placed in the Temple, was the first occurrence that roused the indignation of the Jews, and kindled the flame of discord thoughout the nation. The death of Caligula prevented an immediate war, but did not ap-

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pease the jealously of a discontented people, who were not only determined that the images of deified emperors should never disgrace their temple, but would not so much as suffer the likeness of the Cæsars to be brought into their territories. Of this zeal Josephus relates a remarkable instance. He tells us that when Vitellius, the governor of Syria, was preparing to march his army through a part of Judæa, in order to attack the Arabs, the chief of the Jews objected to the measure, alleging that the colours of the legions were crowded with profane images, which the laws did not allow to be seen in their country. The Roman general yielded to the remonstrance, and ordered his legions to pursue a more circuitous way. And yet this condescension did not satisfy the Jewish mind. The seed-plots of a revolt were laid; and Felix, the brother of Pallas, the reigning favourite at the court of Claudius, by oppression, rapine, and every species of cruelty, helped to spread a general spirit of revolt. Gessius Florus, who by his interest with Poppæa obtained from Nero the post of governor of Judæa, found the province in a state of tumult and distraction. His conduct added fuel to the flame. Avarice was his ruling passion. Resolved to aggrandize himself, and accumulate immoderate riches, he practised every species of iniquity, till the people, fired with indignation, broke out into open rebellion. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, assembled a numerous army, and penetrated into the heart of the enemy's country, even to the walls of Jerusalem: but war was not his talent: he abandoned the siege, and fled with preci-

pitation. The Jews hung on his rear, and defeated him in every skirmish. According to Josephus, they took an eagle from one of the legions, and in the pursuit cut off no less than six thousand of the Roman army. Cestius did not long survive the disgrace. He died of grief; and the government of Syria was given to Mucianus, who afterwards took an active part in the elevation of Vespasian to the imperial dignity. But the Jewish war required a commander who should make that business the only object of his attention. Nero, for the reasons which have been already mentioned, gave that commission to the man who was even then destined to be emperor of Rome (*a*). In the space of two summers, the victorious general subdued the whole country, and made himself master of every strong hold and fortified city, except Jerusalem, which was reserved to crown Titus with immortal glory.

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V. Tacitus has described the city of Jerusalem and the Temple; but perhaps, with the advantage of D'Anville's plan, a more distinct idea of the place may now be given. The city stood upon two hills, namely, Mount Sion to the south, and Acra to the north. The former, being the loftiest, was called the upper, and Acra the lower city. The walls of each were washed on the outside by a broad and rapid stream, that rushed like a torrent from west to east, through the valleys of Hinnon and Cedron, to the foot of the Mount of Olives. The famous Temple stood on a third hill called Mount Moriah, which on the eastern side was bounded by the valley of Ce-

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dron. A fourth hill, to the north of the Temple, was in process of time, enclosed within the fortifications; and there the Jews, abounding in numbers, built another city. The new quarter was called Bezetha. Josephus says the circumference of the whole city was three-and-thirty stadia, computed by D'Anville at about three thousand three hundred paces. Art conspired with the natural situation to make the works almost inaccessible. A wall of great strength and prodigious elevation surrounded Sion, extending along the north and west sides of the hill, and, being carried eastward, separated it from Mount Acra. Mount Acra was enclosed by another wall, which stretched to the north, and, then diverging towards the east, ended at Fort Antonia. The third wall defended the Temple to the east. These fortifications were further strengthened by towers built with consummate skill, as may be seen in the description given by Tacitus (*a*). Five of the towers were distinguished by their strength and magnificence. The first was the tower Psephina, an octagon building seventy cubits high, commanding a prospect of Arabia towards the east, and, on the western side, a view of Palestine and Phœnicia to the margin of the sea: the other four were built by Herod, who was placed on the throne by Marc Antony. From motives of gratitude to his patron, Herod called one of his new structures the Tower Antonia. The other three he dedicated to the persons whom he most esteemed, and, to do them honour, made use of their names: Hippichos was his dearest friend; Phasael was his brother; and Mariamne, it is unnecessary to

say, was the wife whom he loved to distraction, and in his fury murdered while he adored her (*b*).

The temple of Jerusalem was an immense fabric, divided by a number of courts, and surrounded with porticos and magnificent galleries, which were, in fact, so many fortifications, that made it look, as Tacitus observes (*c*), more like a citadel than a religious sanctuary. The place of worship, or the temple properly so called, stood in the centre, detached from all other buildings: the inside was divided by a veil or curtain into two parts, one of which was the Holy of Holies. The outward space was filled with buildings appropriated to religious ceremonies, and the dwelling of the priests and others, who officiated at the altar. A large court encompassing those several buildings was called the court of the Gentiles, who were allowed to enter that part, but strictly excluded from the sanctuary. The whole of this vast quadrangle, according to Josephus, was six stadia, or three quarters of a mile round: as D'Anville computes it, the circumference was still greater.

VI. This great and opulent but devoted city was now the last receptacle of the Jewish nation. The people saw the progress of the Roman arms; all Galilee overrun by the conqueror, their fortresses stormed, and their armies routed in every engagement. In that alarming crisis, all degrees and orders of men abandoned their habitations, and fled for shelter to Jerusalem. The celebration of the Passover, which was then near at hand, attracted prodi-

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and, in that moment, a stone from a battering engine struck him dead on the spot. The name of this man, says Bossuet, was Jesus; and it may be, that since the first who offered grace and mercy, and eternal life, expired on the cross, the second of the name was ordained to denounce the ruin of the whole nation.

VII. Though the Jews by their rashness involved themselves in a war with a great and powerful empire, it may be truly said, that Jerusalem was destroyed by their own hands, not by the Roman arms. They had called down the vengeance of Heaven by the worst iniquities, and to complete their utter destruction, were still abandoned to the vices that provoked their fate. False prophets, as had been foretold, imposed on the deluded people. Heresies sprang up and multiplied; new doctrines were propagated; and, by consequence, various sects were formed; all, as usual among schismatics, envenomed against each other. Religious dissensions engendered civil discord; and Judæa, rent and torn by contending factions, became a theatre of horror, rapine, and mutual slaughter. By the contest between Vespasian and Vitellius, which began in the year of Rome 822, the Jews gained some respite from the operations of a victorious enemy; but they had not the wisdom to employ the interval in preparations for another campaign. Three powerful factions divided the whole nation; and, as usual when the infatuated multitude claim a right to exercise what is called the sovereignty of the people, each faction was

under the management of a leader or a chief, who was admired for his eloquence and superior talents. But eloquence without integrity is a frivolous talent: it has been properly called lip-wisdom. The three demagogues knew the popular arts by which the rabble is generally influenced. The public good was their pretext, but their own private ambition was the exciting motive, the cause of all their actions. They talked of the independent spirit of their nation, and the glory of resisting the Roman legions; but while they railed at slavery, their own domination was the object in view.

Of these three tyrants Eleazar was the first in point of time. When Cestius, as already mentioned, encamped before the walls of Jerusalem, he had put himself at the head of a strong party, who assumed the name of Zealots, and made himself master of the Temple. John of Giscala saw the strength of that faction, and had the address to insinuate himself into their clubs or political meetings. He had a wonderful flow of words, and was soon admired as a consummate orator. An artful concealer of his sinister purposes, he knew how to gloss and decorate his speeches with well-acted zeal for the public good. He drew over to his party a number of the most active Zealots, and formed a league that soon grew formidable to Eleazar. Strong as his confederacy was, he was not able to make himself master of the temple; but the city, as if taken by conquest, fell under his absolute dominion. Inured, before he entered Jerusalem, to the most barbarous cruelties and the most violent acts of depredation, he conti-

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nued in the city to practise the same horrible outrages, till the people resolved to call in another tyrant to their assistance. This was Simon, son of Gioras, who had raised himself from obscurity by his intrepid courage and the most flagitious crimes. By promising rewards to the free, and freedom to the slaves, he was able to form an army of twenty thousand men. With that force he advanced to the walls of Jerusalem. The citizens, harassed and worn out by the oppressions of John, opened their gates to receive him. Simon entered amidst the acclamations of the rabble. He promised to be the friend of the people. Various conflicts ensued between him and the Zealots. Fierce and obstinate battles were fought; houses were plundered; whole families were put to the sword; and Jerusalem was a scene of blood and massacre. The parties gained alternate victories, but no decisive blow was struck. Eleazar remained in possession of the highest part of the Temple; John maintained his post on Mount Moriah; and Simon commanded in Salem and Bezetha. The Christians, who resided in the city of Jerusalem, finding that Titus was approaching at the head of his army, knew their time to depart. They saw, according to the warning given to them by Christ himself, that desolation was nigh, and, as commanded, fled to the mountains (*a*).

VIII. Such was the internal state of Jerusalem when Titus, early in the spring, encamped before the walls. The natural clemency of that amiable prince inclined him to offer terms of capitulation,

but he too well knew the obstinacy of a blind and devoted race. An account of the legions and allied forces that went on this expedition has been stated by Tacitus (*a*). The first care of Titus was to form his lines; to level the grounds, and throw up forts and battlements before the walls of the city. The legions went to work with alacrity, all contending with emulation to execute the orders of their general. In the midst of these exertions, a sudden burst of lamentation assailed their ears. They looked, and saw advancing, from one of the gates, a wretched band of mourners, stretching forth their hands, and, with hideous cries and dismal shrieks, imploring the protection of the Romans from the barbarous cruelty of their fellow-citizens. The soldiers were touched with compassion. Without waiting for the command of their officers, they went in a body to succour the distressed, and conduct them to their tents. In that moment was seen the treachery of the Jewish character. The notes of grief were changed to warlike shouts. The traitors surrounded the generous soldiers, and, brandishing their daggers, rushed to the attack with the fury of the vilest assassins. The Romans were massacred on the spot, while a band of Jews on the walls beheld the tragic spectacle with fell delight, and, adding taunts and insult to their perfidy, made a jest of the unhappy victims, who were butchered for their humanity.

IX. This stratagem had the effect of kindling a spirit of revenge throughout the Roman army. Ti-

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tus, in the mean time, preserved the even tenour of his happy disposition. To yield to sudden emotions of anger was not in his nature. He weighed all circumstances, and still wished to spare the effusion of blood. He saw a deluded people, who, by open rebellion, had provoked the Roman arms, and, though pent up within their walls, still believed their false prophets, expecting to be masters of universal empire; he knew that they were distracted by intestine factions; that under the direction of their chiefs, the assassin's dagger was every day drenched in blood, and massacre laid waste the city. Titus beheld their misfortunes with an eye of pity: willing to sheathe the slaughtering sword, he offered a general pardon; but in vain; the whole nation was infatuated and ripe for destruction.

The Roman soldiers, eager to begin the attack, carried on their works with unabating vigour. Mounds were thrown up; forts were built; and battering-rams and other warlike engines were advanced to the walls. The first impression was made on Salem, or the lower city, on the northwest side of Jerusalem. Simon commanded in that quarter: his sword, which had been till then employed against his fellow-citizens, was at length turned against the besiegers. He exerted his most strenuous efforts, and by his example inspired his men with undaunted resolution. But the vigour of the legions was irresistible. Darts and firebrands, and other missive weapons, were thrown into the town with incessant fury; stones of enormous weight were discharged from a number of engines; and

the besieged were driven from the ramparts. In the heat of the engagement Titus received a wound in his shoulder, of which he felt the symptoms during the rest of his life; but danger served only to animate his warlike spirit. The soldiers followed the example of their general. The battering-rams opened a breach in the walls; the conquering troops rushed in sword in hand, and took possession of Salem. This was on the fifteenth day of the siege. It was soon perceived that by their success they had gained a perilous situation. They were exposed to the engines of the enemy from Bezetha and the Tower of Antonia on the north, from the temple on the east, and from Sion on the south. But to confront every danger was the maxim and the practice of the legions. They maintained the conflict five days successively, and surmounted every difficulty. Titus entered Bezetha at the head of two thousand men.

X. The Jews fled in consternation; and if the Romans had been allowed to pursue their advantage, that day might have ended the siege. But Titus paused in the moment of victory. Clemency resumed her influence. He ordered his men to give quarter to all that laid down their arms. The runaways took shelter in the Tower Antonia. It might have been expected that the humanity of Titus would have softened the rigour of the Jewish mind. It had a contrary effect. The infatuated people could not suppose that virtue was his motive. His conduct was imputed to despair and cowardice. John and Simon

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agreed, for the first time, to carry on their operations with a spirit of union. They collected their numbers, and poured down to the attack with impetuous fury. Titus saw the danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, and, with that presence of mind which never deserted him, resolved at once not to hazard the lives of his men for the vain glory of their general. He had gained a victory; but prudence required that he should for the present, resign all his advantages. He sounded a retreat, and returned to his camp.

XI. The preparations necessary for a second assault employed the legions during the four following days. The interval was dreadful to the Jews. Internal dissensions broke out with redoubled fury. Simon considered the retreat of the Romans as a complete victory, and made no doubt but that in a short time they would raise the siege. Elate with success, he thought it time to think of aggrandizing himself. A man of his disposition knew no way to establish his ill-gotten power, but by wading through scenes of blood. His partisans committed depredations at their will and pleasure, and his assassins drenched their daggers in the blood of all who dared to lament the miseries of their country. Simon had been raised to his bad eminence by Mathias, a priest, who presided at all public sacrifices; and he now considered the man to whom he owed an obligation as a living reproach. He accused his friend of a design to desert to the Romans, and, on that charge, condemned him to death together with

his three sons. The venerable old man begged with earnest supplication to be the first victim, that he might not live to see so horrible a spectacle as the murder of his children. The prayer of misery was rejected. The wretched father saw his sons bleed, and, having felt that agony of heart, resigned himself to the executioner.

John, in the mean time, did not think himself established in plentitude of power, while Eleazar still remained in possession of the inner part of the Temple. His ambition could not brook a rival. Eleazar, on the other hand, had no resources to support himself, and his party, but the offerings and first-fruits that were brought to the sanctuary. Those, in contempt of all laws divine and human, he converted to his own use; and, with that view, allowed admittance to all who came to offer their adoration. During the horrors of the siege, sacrifices, libations, and other acts of devotion went on in the Temple; but in the midst of the religious ceremonies, the holy place was deluged with human blood mixed with the gore of slaughtered victims. John was, at length, determined to end the contest with Eleazar. Ambition like his was not to be satisfied with any thing less than the absolute command. Having taken his measures for that purpose, he ordered his band of assassins to mix with the crowd that entered the inner Temple. A dreadful scene of confusion, horror, and murder followed. The ruffians, skilled in their trade, threw off their upper garments, and brandishing their poniards, struck a general panic. The Zealots of Eleazar's party rushed out of the Tem-

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ple with precipitation. The innocent multitude clung to the altar; but the altar was no longer a sanctuary. All were put to death without distinction. By this horrible stratagem, John obtained a complete victory. Eleazar, according to Tacitus (*a*), fell in the general massacre; but if we believe Josephus, he survived to act for the future under the command of John, who became the ruling chief of the Zealots. The three factions which prevailed in the beginning of the siege, were, in this manner, reduced to two. John and Simon were now the pretended friends of the people, and the ruin of their country.

XII. Titus knew, by sure intelligence, that the cessation of arms, which his preparations rendered necessary, was by the folly and madness of the besieged converted to their own destruction. He exerted himself, notwithstanding, to return to the charge without loss of time. The exertions of the soldiers seconded his most ardent wishes. Having constructed his warlike engines, and taken his measures for the assault, he made his approaches to the breach which he had already battered, and by an incessant discharge of stones and arrows, and other missive weapons, had kept open, in spite of the efforts of the Jews to repair their fortifications. The legions advanced to the assault with determined bravery. The conflict lasted three days without intermission. On the fourth, the archers and slingers discharged such an uninterrupted volley, that the besieged could no longer maintain their station on the ramparts. The engineers played their battering

rams with the greatest skill and success. The walls gave way; and the Romans, in close embodied ranks, were able to cut their way through the breach. The Jews fled for shelter to Sion and Mount Moriah. Titus entered with the conquering troops, and once more took possession of Salem. He ordered all the houses to be levelled to the ground, and marked out the lines of his camp. He filled the towers, that were left standing, with a band of select men, who from that advantageous post would know how to annoy the battlements of the enemy. The whole city was now enclosed within the lines of circumvallation which Titus had ordered in the beginning of the siege. Salem was completely conquered. The legions extended their ranks as far as the foot of Tower Antonia, and thence to the Mount of Olives, on the north-east side of the temple. But new difficulties were the consequence of victory. A wide extensive valley lay between the base of Mount Moriah and Bezetha. The Romans, in that situation, were exposed to the slings and engines of the enemy on the summit of Tower Antonia, the Temple, and Mount Sion. To men who were directly under those forts, or citadels, the height appeared stupendous, and inaccessible. Till towers of equal elevation were raised, there was no way to assault the works; and to batter a breach was impossible. This occasioned a suspension of hostilities for ten days. The labour was immense, and such as would have deterred any forces but a Roman army. The soldiers loved their general, and their ardour rose in proportion.

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XIII. The Jews in consternation saw from their ramparts the towers rising high in air, and the platforms, which were to receive the warlike engines, built with a rapidity that astonished them. They now thought it time to desist from their internal feuds, and the rage of mutual slaughter. The common danger reconciled all parties. John and Simon formed an union of councils. They assembled their bravest troops, and, having concerted their plan of operations, made a sally into the city of Salem with their whole strength combined. The Romans were taken by surprise. Despair itself inspired the Jews with courage. Their first impression was not to be resisted. The legions gave ground, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. The Jews pursued them to their entrenchments. The Romans were besieged in their turn. All was uproar, terror and confusion, till Titus, by his exhortations, by his own example, and by every effort, roused the spirit of his men, and led them on to the charge. The Jews were repulsed. They fled; they were pursued; they were taken prisoners, or put to the sword. The slaughter lasted till night came on, and John and Simon, with their surviving numbers, retreated to their former station.

XIV. Titus was now at leisure to raise the necessary batteries, and construct all his works for a grand assault. The besieged, in the mean time, were afflicted with disasters worse, if possible, than their own horrible assassinations. A dreadful famine laid waste the city. The streets were covered with the

dead and the dying; old men, women, and children, stretched forth their hands for sustenance, and expired in the act; the wounded soldiers perished for want of relief; shrieks and groans and lamentations resounded in every quarter; the surviving wretches envied the fate of those who died first; they lived only to prolong their misery, fixing their eyes on the Temple, and invoking death to end their woes. The rites of sepulture were neglected. It was necessary, however, to remove the dead bodies. John and Simon ordered them to be thrown down the steep into the lower city. Titus went to view the unhappy victims, as they lay in heaps under the walls. Shocked at a scene so melancholy and affecting, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and called the gods to witness that he was not the cause of those dreadful calamities.

John and Simon, the tyrannical authors of every mischief, beheld the distress of the people without remorse or pity. Under their direction, plunder and massacre went on with unrelenting fury. A band of assassins continued prowling about in quest of prey. They searched every house; and where they saw an appearance of health, they seized the wretched family, and dragged them like so many criminals to the rack, in order to make them discover in what secret place they laid up their slender hoard of victuals. The two friends of the people converted every thing to their own use. Distress and misery went on increasing, and deeds that shocked humanity were committed in the face of day. Fathers took the nourishment from their children, and sons seized it

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from their mothers. In return, a woman of the name of Mary, who in the beginning of the war, removed with all her substance from beyond the Jordan to take shelter in Jerusalem, committed an outrage that can not be related without horror. A band of ruffians carried off her little store of corn. Enraged by that act of violence, she seized her infant, then at herbreast, and, in despair and frenzy plunged a poniard in its heart. Nor did she stop there: the cravings of hunger were to be appeased. She cut her babe in pieces, and devoured the fruit of her womb. The smell of victuals soon attracted a banditti of freebooters. They broke into the house; and though inured to murder, they recoiled with horror at a sight so barbarous and inhuman. The story was soon divulged; it spread through the city, and reached the Roman camp. Titus heard it with astonishment. He heaved a sigh, and mourned the lot of humanity. His towers, his platforms, and his warlike engines were completed; his slingers and archers were at their post, and his whole army panted for an opportunity to display their valour; but he himself was still restrained by the tenderness of his nature. He caused a general amnesty to be proclaimed in favour of all who should make a voluntary surrender; and, at the same time, bound himself by a solemn promise to preserve the city, the temple and the religion of the people. Numbers embraced the offer, and rushed out of the gates on every side; but the vengeance of Heaven pursued a devoted race. The wretched fugitives, in their way to the Roman camp, passed through the lines of the Arabs, who had listed under the banners

of Titus. A soldier of that nation perceived a Jew discharging the superfluities of nature, and then searching for the gold which he had swallowed before he left the town. That circumstance diffused a notion, that all the Jews had adopted the same stratagem to secrete their money. Full of that idea, the Arabs rushed with fury on the defenceless multitude, and ripped up their bellies, to discover their hidden treasure. The Romans followed the example, and a scene of blood and carnage continued, till Titus, fired with indignation, checked the fury of his men, and gave the promised protection to all that escaped the massacre.

XV. Titus found that his lenity, instead of making an impression on the Jewish mind, was considered by that obstinate people as a proof of weakness. He determined, therefore, to make one vigorous effort, and let the enemy see the strength and valour of the Roman army. His operations were directed against Fort Antonia. John and Simon no sooner saw the platforms and wooden towers advancing towards the walls, than they made a sally with intent to set fire to the works of the besiegers. The Zealots, armed with torches and fire-brands, advanced with eagerness. The legions showed a firm undaunted countenance. The signal for the attack being given, they charged the enemy in such compact order, that nothing could resist their fury. The conflict did not last long. The Jews were thrown into confusion, and, after a few vain efforts, retreated to their city.

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The battering rams were advanced against the tower Antonia. The besieged discharged from their ramparts a volley of stones and other missive weapons. Nothing could deter the Romans. They condensed their shields over their heads, and, having formed a military shell, began to sap the foundation of the walls, while the engineers annoyed the enemy on the upper part of the works. At length the arch of a deep subterraneous cavern, which had been constructed under the eastern side of the tower, fell in at once, and drew after it a great part of the wall in one prodigious ruin. The opening was wide enough for the Romans to enter in wide extended lines: but according to Josephus, they stood aghast at the sight of an inward wall, which had been built by the order of John. The historian relates a number of circumstances, that derogate much from our idea of the courage and discipline of a Romanarmy. Be the fact as it may, the tower Antonia was on the following day taken by storm. The Jews who escaped the sword, fled in dismay and terror to the Temple, which they considered as a safe asylum, still convinced that a sanctuary, of which the God of Abraham was the protector, would never yield to the Roman arms.

XVI. Titus had now gained an eminence from which his warlike engines could play with advantage on the enemy. The approaches to the Temple lay exposed to the valour of the legions. His clemency made him suspend his operations. To save the sanctuary, and even to protect the people in the exercise

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of a religion, which, with every Roman, he condemned as a perverse superstition, was still the wish of his heart. Josephus, who, as the reader will remember (*a*), commanded the garrison at Jotapata in Galilee, and was there taken prisoner by Vespasian, attended Titus during the siege of Jerusalem. Whether he misunderstood the prophecies relating to the Messiah, or misinterpreted them to curry favour with the Roman general, can not now be known. Tacitus condemns the blind superstition of the Jews, who would not see that the prediction had, as he conceived it, a palpable reference to Vespasian and his son Titus (*b*). Josephus either actually did or pretended to see it in the same light. Willing to stop the effusion of blood, Titus resolved to send a deputation to the Jewish chiefs; and for that purpose no one seemed so proper as a native of the country, who would know the topics fit to be urged, and by his powers of persuasion might be able to command the passions, and make an impression on the hearts of a deluded people. Josephus undertook that important embassy. He had an interview with John, and has left in his history a detail of all that passed. It will be sufficient, in this abridgment, to observe, that nothing could alter the obstinacy of a blind enthusiast, who by his manifold crimes provoked the wrath of an offended God, and, at the same time was so infatuated as to expect the divine protection. Josephus, though reviled as a traitor to his country and a slave to the Romans, made use of every argument to open the eyes of the people; he represented to them the horrors of inevitable destruction; heaven

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and earth combined against their city; and with tears in his eyes he exclaimed, "I see at length, too late "I see, that I am struggling against the will of God. "Titus wishes to save you from desolation, and "your doom is pronounced above. It is God, a "powerful, an avenging God, who sends the Ro-"mans to bury all in ruin. Repentance may still "efface your crimes; contrition of heart may avert "the impending vengeance; save yourselves and "your holy city; save your Temple, the wonder of "the universe; Titus wishes to preserve that noble "structure; do not be worse enemies to yourselves, "than even the Romans, who hold the sword over "your heads, and still in mercy forbear to strike the "fatal blow." He could no more; a flood of tears suppressed his voice; he turned his eyes to the Temple, heaved a sigh, and returned to Fort Antonia.

XVII. Titus saw that his moderation served only to confirm the hard of heart; and by protracting the siege, to expose his men to ambuscades, and the danger of sudden skirmishes with a people inured to craft and stratagem. He called a council of war. The principal officers were of opinion, that nothing less than the utter destruction of the Temple would secure a lasting peace. A building which the Jews themselves had made a theatre of blood, ought not, they contended, to be any longer considered as a place of worship. It was rather a citadel, in which the garrison remained in force; and, since the proffered capitulation was rejected, ought to be given up to the fury of an enraged soldiery. Titus con-

curred with his officers in every point, except the demolition of the inner part of the Temple. That he still resolved to save; but, as Josephus observes, a superior council had otherwise ordained. God in his justice had decreed the fall of Jerusalem; and Titus, unconscious of his mission, was the agent to execute the will of Heaven.

On the following day the general assault began. The Romans advanced under their military shell to the outward wall of the Temple. The Jews sallied out, and a fierce engagement followed. Nothing, however, could break through the close embodied lines of the legions. The besieged gave way, and, finding themselves pursued with impetuous fury, fled for shelter to the inner court. The Romans entered sword in hand. The battle was renewed with redoubled ardour. The combatants were confined to one spot. For the Jews, no room for flight; the Romans fought to end the war. The cries of the dying, and the shouts of the victors, reverberated by the surrounding walls, filled the place with dreadful uproar. The orders of Titus and his officers were no longer heard. The Jews, in some parts, fought with frantic obstinacy. Numbers in despair fled to the sanctuary. There the false prophets still assured them that the Lord of Hosts was on their side. In that instant the besiegers forced the gates. The massy gold and glittering ornaments inspired them with new ardour. The love of plunder conspired with revenge, and Titus exerted himself in vain to restrain their fury. One of the soldiers mounted to the top of the portico, and threw a com-

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bustible weapon, which clung to the wood-work, and set fire to the whole building. The Jews saw that all was lost, and in their last agony sent forth the groan of an expiring people. Titus withdrew from the scene of desolation, lamenting, that his efforts to save the place were without effect. As he passed along, word was brought to him, that a number of priests stood on the outside wall, imploring him to spare their lives. "It is too late," said Titus; "the priests ought not to survive their Temple." He retired to Fort Antonia; and there beholding the conflagration, and lifting up his hands, exclaimed, with a sigh, "The God of the Jews has fought against them: to him we owe our victory."

Such was the end of the Temple of Jerusalem; a magnificent structure, which had stood for ages, the pride and glory of the Jews, the place of national worship, and the oracle of God. It is remarkable, that this dreadful catastrophe happened on the tenth of August, the day on which the first Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt to the ground in the year of the world 3416, before Christ 587, by Nebuchadnezor, king of Babylon. The second and last Temple was built about fifty-two years after that of Solomon was laid in ruins. It had stood above six hundred years, enlarged and embellished from time to time; but was at length levelled to the ground, to rise no more, notwithstanding the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the temple, and thereby discredit the prediction of Christ. His mad project failed. So true it is, that *no power can destroy what God has raised; and none can raise what*

he destroys. The sentence was pronounced above, and not *one stone was left upon another.* (*a*).

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XVIII. An end was not yet put to the war. John and Simon, with a number of their followers, found their way into the upper city on Mount Sion. But the courage of the Jews depended on the preservation of their temple. Seeing it in flames, they thought themselves abandoned by their God, and wanted to surrender. Even in that distress they were still distracted by intestine factions. John and Simon declared their fixed resolution to hold out to the last. The scene of misery that followed is not to be described; a devouring famine raged in every quarter, and the barbarity of the unrelenting tyrants was not to be appeased. In a few days the chiefs saw the Romans, with indefatigable labour, advancing their towers, and preparing for a general assault. They thought it time to capitulate. Titus promised to spare their lives, but refused to compromise the war on any other terms. He required, in decided terms, an immediate, unequivocal, unconditional submission; a surrender at discretion. John and Simon received this answer with indignation. The pride of men, who had been so long the tyrants of the people, was too obstinate to bend to the will of a conqueror. They talked of the rights of man, resolved to live independent, or to die with honour in the cause of liberty. They harangued the populace, and bellowed against Titus with the zeal and vehemence of determined patriots; but, in a short time after, they deserted the public in the hour of need, and thought

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of nothing but their own personal safety. The towers of Hippicos, Phasael, and Mariamne were almost impregnable. In places of that strength they might have stood at bay for a length of time, and, perhaps, have extorted from Titus an honourable capitulation: they might at least, have shared the fate of a people whom they had ruined. But their words and actions were at variance. They abandoned the public interest, and basely hid themselves in subterraneous vaults, in hopes of eluding the fury of the conqueror. The legions battered a breach, and entered the city sword in hand. A dreadful carnage followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. According to Josephus, not less than eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. The buildings were set on fire, and, excepting the three towers, the whole city of Sion was laid in ruins. As soon as the rage of slaughter ceased, all that escaped the general carnage were selected together, and disposed of according to their deserts. The most active incendiaries were put to death; some were reserved to grace the victor's triumph; and the rest were sent into Egypt and sold to slavery.

In this manner, the city of Jerusalem, which had flourished for ages, was made a wilderness. The Jews, no longer able to subsist as a people, have been, for upwards of seventeen hundred years, scattered over the face of the earth, a living monument of divine vengeance.

XIX. While the siege was still depending, Vespasian sailed from Alexandria, and, after a short

voyage, landed at Brundusium. He proceeded by slow journeys, without pomp or vain parade, making his approaches to Rome with the air of an humble citizen returning to his family. A prodigious concourse of people of all descriptions came forward to meet him, and the tribe of courtiers buzzed and glittered around him, as usual offering the incense of adulation. They were received with cold neglect. It was soon perceived, that in the new reign truth would be in fashion (*a*). One of the cities through which he passed declared an intention to raise a statue to him at a vast expense. Vespasian held forth his hand and answered with a smile, "Let this be "the base of your statue; place your money here." He entered the city of Rome amidst the acclamations of a people, who had long been harassed by the cruelty of Nero, and expected under a mild and equitable government a respite from their misery.

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XX. Vespasian entered on his third consulship in conjunction with Cocceius Nerva, who was afterwards emperor of Rome; two men, who seem to have been, for the noblest purposes, united in office; Vespasian, to instruct his colleague in the arts of government; and Nerva, to prepare himself for a just, an upright, and a virtuous reign. Titus, in the mean time, remained at Mount Sion, surveying with regret the desolation which the legions had made. Addresses of congratulation and crowns of victory were presented to him by deputies from all the neighbouring states: he calmly answered, that

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he was the instrument to execute the decrees of Heaven. He gave orders that the three towers on Mount Sion should be left standing, as a monument for posterity, to mark where the city stood, which was laid in ruins by the folly and madness of the inhabitants. Having made all proper arrangements, and left Terentius Rufus, with a legion under his command, to guard Mount Sion and the province of Judæa, he set out, after the example of his father, to make the tour of Egypt.

John and Simon, as has been mentioned, survived the slaughter of their coutrymen; but it was not long before they fell into the hands of the conqueror. John was the first that surrendered. He met with more clemency than was due to a man whose wild ambition had been the cause of so many dreadful disasters. He was condemned to remain a prisoner for life.

Simon did not meet with equal lenity. His perverse and obstinate resistance served to aggravate his former iniquities, and to fill the measure of his guilt. He had taken refuge in a deep cavern, carrying with him a store of provisions, and a number of workmen with their tools and instruments, with intent to open a passage under ground, and, after collecting together the surviving forces of his countrymen, to appear again in arms against the Romans. But rocks were impenetrable; provisions were exhausted; he began to dread the misery of an approaching famine, and resolved once more to see the light of heaven. Rufus ordered him to be loaded with irons, and in that condition conveyed to

Rome, to clank his chains at the chariot-wheels of the conqueror.

Meanwhile Titus was received at Memphis with all demonstrations of joy. It happened, while he remined at that place, that the consecration of an ox, adored under the name of Apis, by the Egyptians, as their national god, was to be celebrated with all the rites of superstition usual on that occasion. Titus was invited to preside at the festival. He yielded to the request of the people, and, in conformity to established usage, wore a regal diadem during the ceremony. Innocent as this transaction was, it did not fail, in a busy city like Rome, to occasion a variety of reports all founded on vague conjecture and sinister construction. The wisdom of some and the malignity of others, saw a deep design. Titus, they said, was flushed with the pride of victory; he began to tower above his rank, and to form schemes of ambition. It was not the vanity of a day, that made him assume the regal diadem; it was evident that he aimed at greater things. These reports were wafted with speed across the Mediterranean. Titus heard, with indignation, that his character was blackened, and resolved to make the best of his way to Rome. He arrived at Rhegium over against Sicily, and, embarking there in a trading vessel, sailed to Puteoli: from that place he pursued his journey with all possible expedition, and, without the ceremony of announcing his arrival, flew to Vespasian's apartment, and, throwing his arms around his neck, exclaimed, "I am come, my father; your son is come."

APPEN. TO BOOK V.

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The senate had decreed a triumph for the emperor and another for Titus. Vespasian chose to wait till he had a partner to enjoy the glory of the day. They both entered Rome in the same triumphal car. The pomp and magnificence displayed on the occasion exceeded all former splendour. The spoils of war, the wealth of conquered nations, the wonders of art, and the riches of Egypt, as well as Jerusalem, presented a spectacle that dazzled the eye, and filled the spectators with delight and wonder. The colours and ensigns exhibited a lively representation of the Jewish war; the battles that were fought; the cities that were stormed; the towers and temples that were wrapt in flames; all were drawn with art, and decorated with the richest colouring. The prisoners of war formed a long procession. Simon was distinguished from the rest. The well-known ferocity of his character attracted the attention of the multitude, and fixed all eyes upon him. He walked with abated pride; but the traces of guilt and cruelty were still visible in every feature. The triumph stopped at the capitol. Simon was seized and dragged to execution on the Tarpeian rock; there to pay the forfeit of his crimes, and fall a victim to his countrymen, whom his atrocious deeds had ruined.

A. U. C. 825. A. D. 72.

XXI. It is not the design of this abridgment to detail the history of Vespasian's reign. It will be sufficient to observe that he closed the temple of Janus, having settled a profound peace throughout the Roman world. He and Titus were joint consuls

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in the year of Rome 825; Vespasian for the fourth time; Titus the second. Their first care was to allay the spirit of party and faction, which had embittered the minds of men in the distractions of the civil war; to reform the manners, give energy to the laws, and teach the military to submit to the civil authority. The records of the old republic, and all the valuable monuments of antiquity, had perished in the flames of the capitol: not less than three thousand brazen tablets, on which were engraved the decrees of the senate, and the acts of the people, were destroyed in that dreadful conflagration. To repair the loss as well as might be, Vespasian ordered diligent search to be made in every quarter for the copies that were known to exist; and, after due examination, he deposited the same in the public archives. He rebuilt the capitol; promoted arts and sciences; encouraged men of genius (*a*); and, though his avarice, in many instances, was little short of rapacity, he spared no expense to restore the buildings which had been destroyed by Nero's fire, and, in general, to improve and adorn the city.

These were imperial works, of the highest advantage to the people, and all carried on with vigour that did honour to a patriot prince. It must not be dissembled, that, amidst his public cares, his private conduct was not without a stain. His amorous passions were not subdued by age. A courtesan, of the name of Cænis (*b*), had won his affections, before he married Flavia Domitilla; and, after the death of his wife, she was able to allure him back

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to her embraces. Her influence was such, that she lived in all the state and grandeur of an empress. She disposed of all favours; granted the government of provinces; and accumulated enormous wealth, without any scruple about the means. This, beyond all question, was a blemish in the character of Vespasian: but, happily, he was delivered from the disgrace and obloquy occasioned by his being the dupe of love in the decline of life. Cænis died in the year of Rome 827; and from that time, the money that was drained by hard exactions from the provinces, was, without reserve, laid out for the use and ornament of the city.

If Titus, after the example of his father, gave a loose to love, it can not be matter of wonder that he thought youth the season of pleasure and gay enjoyments. His passions broke out without restraint. He passed the night in joy and revelry with a band of dissolute companions, insomuch that the people began to dread a return of all the vices of Nero's reign. Queen Berenice, whom he saw in Palestine, and was then enamoured of her beauty, lived with him at Rome in the greatest splendour. A report prevailed, that he had bound himself to her by a promise of marriage. This filled the city with discontent and popular clamour. The public voice was loud against so close a connexion between the emperor's son and a princess of the Jewish nation. Titus, at length, saw the current of popular prejudice, and wisely resolved to sacrifice his private pleasures to the interests of the state. Berenice returned to her own country. They parted with mutual

reluctance, or, as Suetonius expresses it, with something like the elegant brevity of Tacitus, *Berenicem ab urbe dimisit, invitus invitam* (c). The virtues which made him afterwards the delight of human kind resumed their influence, and from that time, inspired all his actions.

XXII. In the course of Vespasian's reign, two transactions occurred which, it must be acknowledged, have left a stain upon his memory. Of these it will not be improper to give a short detail. The first was the death of Helvidius Priscus, who has been often mentioned by Tacitus. That excellent man fell a sacrifice to his enemies, and perhaps, to his own intemperate conduct. Initiated early in the doctrines of the stoic school, and confirmed in the pride of virtue by the example of Pætus Thrasea, his father-in-law, he saw the arts by which Vespasian, notwithstanding the rigour of his nature, courted popularity; and did not scruple to say, that liberty was more in danger from the artifices of the new family, than from the vices of former emperors. In the senate he spoke his mind with unbounded freedom. Vespasian bore his opposition to the measures of government with patience, and silent dignity. He knew the virtues of the man, and retained a due esteem for the memory of Thrasea. Willing, on that account, to live on terms with Helvidius, he advised him to be for the future, a silent senator. The pride of a stoic spurned at the advice. Passive obedience was so repugnant to his principles, that he stood more firm in opposition.

APPEN. TO BOOK V. A. U. C. 825. A. D. 72.

Mucianus and Eprius Marcellus, who were the favourite ministers of the emperor, were his enemies; and it is probable that, by their advice, Vespasian was at length induced to let the proceedings of the senate take their course. Helvidius was arraigned by the fathers, and ordered into custody. He was soon after banished, and in consequence of an order dispatched from Rome, put to death. It is said (*a*) that Vespasian relented, and sent a special messenger to respite execution; but the blow was struck. Helvidius was, beyond all question, a determined republican. His own imprudence provoked his fate; and this, perhaps, is what Tacitus had in contemplation (*b*), when he places the moderation of Agricola in contrast to the violent spirit of others, who rush on certain destruction, without being by their death of service to the public.

XXIII. The case of Eponina was an instance of extreme rigour, or rather cruelty. She was the wife of Julius Sabinus, a leading chief among the Lingones. This man, Tacitus has told us (*a*), had the vanity to derive his pedigree from Julius Cæsar, who he said, during his wars in Gaul, was struck with the beauty of his grandmother, and alleviated the toils of the campaign in her embraces. Ambitious, bold, and enterprising, he kindled the flame of rebellion among his countrymen, and, having resolved to shake off the Roman yoke, marched at the head of a numerous army into the territory of the Sequani, a people in alliance with Rome. This was A. U. C. 823. He hazarded a battle,

and was defeated with great slaughter. His rash-levied numbers were either cut to pieces, or put to flight. He himself escaped the general carnage. He fled for shelter to an obscure cottage; and, in order to propagate a report that he destroyed himself, set fire to his lurking-place. By what artful stratagems he was able to conceal himself in caves and dens, and by the assistance of the faithful Eponina, to prolong his life for nine years afterwards, can not now be known from Tacitus. The account which the great historian promised, has perished with the narrative of Vespasian's reign. Plutarch (*b*) relates the story as a proof of conjugal fidelity. From that writer, the following particulars may be gleaned: Two faithful freedmen attended Sabinus to his cavern; one of them, Martialis by name, returned to Eponina with a feigned account of her husband's death. His body, she was made to believe, was consumed in the flames. In the vehemence of her grief she gave credit to the story. In a few days she received intelligence by the same messenger, that her husband was safe in his lurking-place. She continued during the rest of the day to act all the exteriors of grief, with joy at her heart, but suppressed with care. In the dead of night she visited Sabinus, and in his arms indulged the transports of her soul. Before the dawn of day she returned to her own house, and, for the space of seven months, repeated her clandestine visits, supplying her husband's wants, and softening all his cares. At the end of that time she conceived hopes of obtaining a free pardon; and having disguised her husband in such a manner as

APPEN. TO BOOK. V.

A. U. C. 825. A. D. 72.

to render a detection impossible, she accompanied him on a long and painful journey to Rome. Finding there that she had been deceived with visionary schemes, she marched back with Sabinus, and lived with him in his den for nine years longer. Mutual love was their only comfort. Her tender affection sweetened the anxieties of her husband, and the birth of two sons was a source of pleasure, even in distress and misery. In the year of Rome 831, they were both discovered, and in chains conveyed to Rome. Vespasian forgot his usual clemency. Sabinus was condemned and hurried to execution. Eponina was determined not to survive her husband. She changed her supplicating tone; and, with a spirit unconquered even in ruin, she addressed Vespasian: "Death (she said) has no terror for me. "I have lived happier under ground, than you upon "your throne. Bid your assassins strike their blow: "with joy I leave a world, in which you can play the "tyrant."

She was ordered for execution. Plutarch concludes with saying, that during Vespasian's reign there was nothing to match the horror of this atrocious deed; for which the vengeance of the gods fell upon Vespasian, and, in a short time after, wrought the extirpation of his whole family.

Vespasian died on the twenty-third of June, A. U. C. 832, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, after reigning ten years. Titus died on the thirteenth of September, A. U. C. 834, in the forty-first year of his age, after a reign of two years, and somewhat more than two months.

APPEN. TO BOOK V. A. U. C. 825. A. D. 72.

Domitian was put to death by a band of conspirators, who were determined to deliver the world from a monster, on the eighteenth of September, A. U. C. 849, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after a reign of fifteen years; a large portion of human life, as Tacitus observes (*c*), in which the people groaned under the cruelty of an unrelenting and insatiate tyrant.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE

OF

GERMANY.

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This tract was composed by Tacitus in the

YEAR OF ROME,	OF CHRIST.	CONSULS.
851	98	Nerva, the 4th time.
		Trajan, the 2d.

A

TREATISE

ON THE

SITUATION, MANNERS, AND PEOPLE

OF

GERMANY.

I. THE whole vast country of Germany (*a*) is separated from Gaul (*b*), from Rhætia and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains (*c*), and, where the mountains subside, mutual dread forms a sufficient barrier. The rest is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water several spacious bays (*d*), and islands of prodigious extent, whose kings and people are now, in some measure, known to us, the progress of our arms having made (*e*) recent discoveries. The Rhine has its source on the steep and lofty summit of the Rhætian Alps (*f*), from which it precipitates, and, after winding towards the west, directs its course through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, gushing down the soft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba (*g*), visits several nations

in its progress, and at last through six channels (the seventh is absorbed in fens and marshes), discharges itself into the Pontic Sea.

II. The Germans, there is reason to think, are an indigenous race (*a*), the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious settlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers, who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land (*b*); the first migrations were made by sea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean vast, and boundless, and, as I may say, always at enmity with mariners (*c*), is seldom navigated by ships from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown sea out of the case, who would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa or Italy, to fix his abode (*d*) in Germany? where, nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the seasons never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother country, without an allurement to make life supportable. In old songs and ballads (*e*), the only memorials of antiquity amongst them, the god Tuisto (*f*), who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his son, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus (*g*), it is said, had three sons, from whom the Ingævones, who border on the sea-coast; the Herminones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Istævones, who occupy the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their

names. Some, indeed, taking advantage of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians (*h*), the Suevians, and the Vandals (*i*). The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany (*k*) is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people, who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name of Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants in order to spread a general terror in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules (*l*) visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing in preference to all other heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

III. The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called Bards (*a*). With this barbarous poetry they inflame their minds with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song (*b*) produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus

of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercussion bursting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulysses, in the course of those wanderings, which are so famous in poetic story, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country, he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Asciburgium (*c*), which is inhabited at this day, and still retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulysses (*d*), with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly discovered at Asciburgium. Mention is likewise made of certain monuments and tomb-stones, still to be seen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs, or inscriptions, in Greek characters. But these assertions it is not my intention either to establish or to refute; the reader will yield or withhold his assent, according to his judgment or his fancy.

IV. I have already acceded to the opinion of those, who think that the Germans have hitherto subsisted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a distinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in such prodigious numbers, a family-likeness throughout the nation; the same form and feature (*a*), stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but

powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger.

V. The face of the country, though in some parts varied, presents a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, or deformed with wide extended marshes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moist and swampy; on the side of Noricum (*a*) and Pannonia, more exposed to the fury of the winds. Vegetation thrives with sufficient vigour. The soil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees (*b*); well stocked with cattle, but of an undersize, and deprived by nature of the usual growth and ornament of the head. The pride of a German consists in the number of his flocks and herds; they are his only riches, and in these he places his chief delight. Gold and silver are withheld from them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to assert (*c*) that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in those regions? Certain it is they do not enjoy the possession and use of those metals with our sensibility. There are, indeed, silver vessels to be seen amongst them, but they were presents to their chiefs or ambassadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthen-ware. It is, however, observable, that near the borders of the empire, the inhabitants set a value upon gold and silver, finding them subservient to the purposes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in those parts, and some of our specie is not

only current but in request. In places more remote, the simplicity of ancient manners still prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money passes in the way of barter, our old coin is the most acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or stamped with the impression of a chariot and two horses, called the SERRATI and BIGATI (*d*). Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy (*e*), but because the inferior metal is of more expeditious use in the purchase of low-priced commodities.

VI. Iron does not abound in Germany (*a*), if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his FRAM; an instrument tipt with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious, that as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement, or in distant combat. With this, and a shield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of missive weapons. Each man carries a considerable number, and, being naked, or, at least, not encumbered by his light mantle, he throws his weapon to a distance almost incredible. A German has no attention (*b*) to the ornament of his person: his shield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the liveliest colours. Breast-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not see more than one or two helmets. Their horses have neither swiftness nor elegance of shape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman ca-

valry (*c*). To advance in a direct line, or wheel suddenly to the right, is the whole of their skill, and this they perform in so compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. According to the best estimate, the infantry form the national strength, and, for that reason, always fight intermixed with the cavalry (*d*). The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to keep pace with the movements of the horse, are selected for this purpose, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of these is fixed and certain: each canton sends a hundred, from that circumstance called HUNDREDORS (*e*) by the army. The name was at first numerical only: it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle presents the form of a wedge. (*f*). To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military skill, not fear or cowardice. In the most fierce and obstinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful (*g*), they make it a point to carry off their slain. To abandon their shield is a flagitious crime. The person guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the assembly of the state. Many, who survived their honour on the day of battle, have closed a life of ignominy by a halter.

VII. The kings in Germany (*a*) owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited (*b*); the latter command more by warlike example than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring spirit in battle, and to

attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is sure to be obeyed. Jurisdiction is vested in the priests. It is theirs to sit in judgment upon all offences. By them delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes. The power of punishing is in no other hands (*c*). When exerted by the priests, it has neither the air of vindictive justice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious sentence, inflicted with the sanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their usual depositary, the religious groves (*d*). A circumstance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions are formed. They are neither mustered nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by consanguinity, a family of warriors. Their tenderest pledges (*e*) are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of his wife, and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives: undismayed at the sight, the women count each honourable scar, and suck the gushing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

VIII. From tradition, they have a variety of instances of armies put to the rout, and by the interposition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women saw the ranks give way, and rushing forward in the instant, by the vehemence of their cries and supplication, by opposing (*a*) their breasts to danger, and by representing the horrors of slavery, restored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable. In consequence of this prevailing sentiment, the states, which deliver as hostages the daughters of illustrious families, are bound by the most effectual obligation. There is, in their opinion, something sacred in the female sex (*b*), and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular. We have seen, in the reign of Vespasian, the famous Veleda (*c*) revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, Aurinia and others were held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on sentiment and superstition, free from that servile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

IX. Mercury is the god (*a*) chiefly adored in Germany. On stated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They sacrifice to Hercules and Mars (*b*) such animals as are usually slain in honour of the gods. In some parts of the country of the Suevians, the worship of Isis (*c*) is established. To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had

their growth in another part of the world, were an investigation for which I have no materials: suffice it to say, that the figure of a ship (the symbolic representation of the goddess) clearly shows that the religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor represented under any kind of resemblance to the human form. To do either were, in their opinion (*d*), to derogate from the majesty of superior beings. Woods and groves (*e*) are the sacred depositaries; and the spot being consecrated to those pious uses, they give to that sacred recess the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never profaned by the steps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a distance, and never seen but with the eye of contemplation.

X. Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots (*a*), is conducted with a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family (*b*) officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends

all consultation for that day: if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices. The well known superstition, which in other countries consults the flight and notes of birds, is also established in Germany; but to receive intimations of future events from horses (*c*) is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpose a number of milk-white steeds, unprofaned by mortal labour, is constantly maintained at the public expense, and placed to pasture in the religious groves. When occasion requires they are harnessed to a sacred chariot, and the priest, accompanied by the king, or chief of the state, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horses. No other mode of augury is received with such implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the priesthood. The horses, upon these solemn occasions, are supposed to be the organs of the gods, and the priests their favoured interpreters. They have still another way of prying into futurity, to which they have recourse, when anxious to know the issue of an important war. They seize, by any means in their power, a captive (*d*) from the adverse nation, and commit him in single combat with a champion selected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a sure prognostic of the event.

XI. In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide (*a*); important questions are reserved for the whole community. Yet even in those cases, where

all have a voice, the business is discussed and prepared by the chiefs. The general assembly, if no sudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and stated periods, either at the new or full moon (*b*). This is thought the season most propitious to public affairs. Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: instead of days, they reckon the number of nights (*c*). Their public ordinances are so dated; and their proclamations run in the same style. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their passion for liberty is attended with this ill consequence: when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time. Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are lost in delay. When they think themselves sufficiently numerous, the business begins. Each man takes his seat (*d*), completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who still retain their coercive authority. The king (*e*), or chief of the community, opens the debate; the rest are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the assembly; he may persuade, but can not command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the proposition pleases, they brandish their javelins. This is their highest, and most honourable mark of applause: they assent in a military manner, and praise by the sound of their arms.

XII. In this council of the state accusations are exhibited, and capital offences prosecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the nature of the crime. For treason and desertion (*a*), the sentence is, to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices (*b*), are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In these different punishments the point and spirit of the law is, that crimes which affect the state, may be exposed to public notoriety, infamous vice (*c*) can not be too soon buried in oblivion. He, who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature (*d*), pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle. Part of that fine goes to the king (*e*), or the community, and part to the person injured, or to his family. It is in these assemblies that princes are chosen (*f*), and chiefs elected to act as magistrates in the several cantons of the state. To each of these judicial officers assistants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and strengthen the hands of justice.

XIII. A German transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed (*a*). The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly, where one of the chiefs or his father, or some near relation, provides him (*b*) with a shield and javelin. This, with them, is the manly gown (*c*): the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen: till then he was considered as part of the

household; he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions (*d*). A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity (*e*); to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark. Nor is his fame confined to his own country: it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts: ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is often sufficient to decide the issue of a war.

XIV. In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him (*a*) survives to live in

infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for their chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life (*b*) in the service of other states engaged in war. The German mind can not brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine a train of dependants can not be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects it. He demands (*c*) at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful: it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredation are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you may gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier.

XV. When the state has no war to manage, the German mind is sunk in sloth. The chase (*a*) does not afford sufficient employment. The time is passed in sleep and gluttony. The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless sluggard. The management of his

house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himself lounges in stupid repose, by a wonderful diversity of nature (*b*), exhibiting in the same man the most inert aversion to labour, and the fiercest principle of action. It is a custom established in the several states, to present a contribution of corn and cattle (*c*) to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his best support. Presents are also sent from the adjacent states, as well by private persons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is so flattering to the pride of the chiefs as those foreign favours consisting of the best horses, magnificent armour, splendid harness (*d*), and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive presents of money (*e*).

XVI. The Germans, it is well known, have no regular cities (*a*); nor do they allow a continuity of houses. They dwell in separate habitations, dispersed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain happens to invite. They have villages, but not, in our fashion, with a series of connected buildings. Every tenement stands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it (*b*), either to prevent accidents by fire, or for want of skill in the art of building. They neither know the use of mortar nor of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardless of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth so smooth and shining, that the natural veins have some resemblance to the

lights and shades of painting. Besides these habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves (*c*), dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung; in winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In those recesses they not only find a shelter from the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treasure escapes the general ravage; safe in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble.

XVII. The clothing in use is a loose mantle (*a*), made fast with a clasp, or, when that can not be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loiter away whole days by the fire-side (*b*). The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, displayed and flowing, like the Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn so tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expressed (*c*). The skins of wild animals are also much in use. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that shows them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people who live more remote, near the northern seas (*d*), and have not acquired by commerce a taste for new-fashioned apparel, are more curious in the selection. They choose particular beasts, and having stripped off the furs, clothe themselves with the spoil, decorated with party-coloured spots, or fragments taken from the skins of fish that swim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dress there is no distinction between the

sexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple stains, but without sleeves, leaving the arms and part of the bosom uncovered.

XVIII. Marriage is considered as a strict and sacred institution (*a*). In the national character there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife is peculiar to the Germans. They differ in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations he makes a tender of part of his wealth: if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caparisoned horse, a shield, a spear and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymeneal gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him

in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union: she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons (*b*), a portion for their wives, and from them descendible to her grand-children.

XIX. In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy: The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction: no public spectacles (*a*) to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters (*b*) is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected the punishment is instant, and inflicted (*c*) by the husband. He cuts off the hair of his guilty wife (*d*), and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour no favour is shown. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches; but a husband she can never obtain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the fashion of the age (*e*). By the practice of some states, female virtue is advanced to still higher perfection: with them none but virgins marry (*f*). When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are closed for life. With one husband, as with one life, one mind,

one body, every woman is satisfied: in him her happiness is centered; her desires extend no farther; and the principle is not only an affection for her husband's person, but a reverence for the married state (*g*), To set limits to population, by rearing up only a certain number of children, and destroying the rest (*h*), is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the savages of Germany, virtuous manners operate more (*i*) than good laws in other countries.

XX. In every family the children are reared up in filth (*a*). They run about naked, and in time grow up to that strength and size of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nourished at the mother's breast, not turned over to nurses and to servants. No distinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant son of a common slave. On the same ground, and mixed with the same cattle, they pass their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of separation (*b*), and early valour shows the person of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleasures of love (*c*); by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are the virgins married too soon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm season of mutual vigour (*d*) the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the constitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's side regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father. With some, the relation of the sister's children to their maternal uncle (*e*) is held to be the strongest tie of consan-

guinity, insomuch that in demanding hostages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the most endearing objects of the family, and consequently, the most tender pledges. (The son (f) is always heir to his father. Last wills and testaments are not in use. In case of failure of issue, the brothers of the deceased are next in succession, or else the paternal and maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age.) To live without raising heirs to yourself (g) is no advantage in Germany.

XXI. To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendships of your parents and relations (a), is held to be an indispensable duty. In their resentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjusted by a settled measure of compensation. Atonement is made for (b) homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that satisfaction the whole family is appeased: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public interest, since it serves to curb that spirit of revenge which is the natural result of liberty in the excess. Hospitality (c) and convivial pleasure are no where so liberally enjoyed. To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage against humanity. The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. If his stock falls short, he becomes a visiter to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it of any consequence, since a cordial reception is always certain.

Between an intimate and an entire stranger no distinction is made. The law of hospitality is the same. The departing guest receives as a present whatever he desires, and the host retaliates by asking with the same freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by bestowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour, and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

XXII. In this manner the Germans pride themselves upon their frankness and generosity. Their hours of rest are protracted to broad day-light. As soon as they rise, the first thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intense severity of the climate, in warm water (*a*). They then betake themselves to their meal, each on a separate seat, and at his own table (*b*). Having finished their repast they proceed completely armed to the dispatch of business, and frequently to a convivial meeting. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a disgrace to no man. Disputes, as will be the case with people in liquor, frequently arise, and are seldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a scene of blood (*c*). Important subjects, such as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war (*d*), are generally canvassed in their carousing festivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true season for business, when the mind opens itself in plain simplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement,

they tell their sentiments without disguise. The pleasure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every secret. On the following day the subject of debate is again taken into consideration, and thus two different periods of time have their distinct uses; when warm, they debate; when cool they decide.

XXIII. Their beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a spirit (*a*). The settlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themselves with wine. Their food is of the simplest kind; wild apples, the flesh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk (*b*). Without skill in cookery, and without seasoning to stimulate the palate (*c*), they eat to satisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to quench their thirst. Indulge their love of liquor to the excess which they require (*d*), and you need not employ the terror of your arms: their own vices will subdue them.

XXIV. Their public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise this kind of exhibition has become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire (*a*). Though some danger attends the practice, the pleasure of the spectator is their only recompense. In the character

of a German there is nothing so remarkable as his passion for play. Without the excuse of liquor (strange as it may seem!) in their cool and sober moments, they have recourse to dice (*b*), as to a serious and regular business, with the most desperate spirit committing their whole substance to chance, and when they have lost their all, putting their liberty and even their persons upon the last hazard of the die. The loser yields himself to slavery. Young, robust, and valiant, he submits to be chained, and even exposed to sale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themselves men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the slaves acquired by success at play: he is ashamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as soon as possible.

XXV. The slaves in general are not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependant (*a*), who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unusual. It is true, that slaves (*b*) are sometimes put to death, not under colour of justice, or of any authority vested in the master;

but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the case in a sudden affray; but it is also true that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen (*c*) are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves; they obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we except the parts of Germany where monarchy is established (*d*), they never figure on the stage of public business. In despotic governments they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of the nobles (*e*). In other states the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.

XXVI. The practice of placing money at interest, and reaping the profits of usury (*a*), is unknown in Germany; and that happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the soil, they do not settle on one spot, but shift from place to place (*b*). The state or community takes possession of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In so extensive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is easily made. The ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a sufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodness of the soil. Nor have they the skill to make orchard-plantations, to inclose the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, di-

vided into four seasons. They have distinct ideas of winter, spring, and summer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the blessings nor the name of autumn (*c*).

XXVII. Their funerals (*a*) have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments, nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse (*b*). A mound of turf is raised to his memory, and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness of human vanity, and are, at best, a burthen to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends (*c*); the men remember them.

XXVIII. This is the sum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now shall enter into a more minute description of the several states, their peculiar rites, and the distinctive character of each; observing at the same time, which were the nations that first passed the Rhine, and transplanted themselves into Gaul. That the Gauls, in ancient times, were superior to the Germans (*a*), we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, that illustrious his-

torian of his own affairs. From what is stated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul passed over into Germany: for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increased in strength, and multiplied its numbers? So weak an obstacle could not repel them from taking possession of a country, not as yet marked out by power, and of course open to the first occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian forest (*b*), the Maine and the Rhine was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians (*c*); both originally Gallic nations. The name of BOIEMUM, which remains to this day, shows the ancient state of the country, though it has since received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviscians (*d*), who settled in Pannonia, were originally a colony from the Osi, a people of Germany; or, on the other hand, whether the Osi overflowed into Germany from the Araviscians, can not now be ascertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners, and language of both nations are still the same. But which of them first passed the Danube? The same good and evil were to be found on both sides of the river; equal poverty and equal independence. To be thought of German origin is the ambition of the Treverians (*e*) and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic softness and effeminacy, which still infect their national manners, may be lost in the splendour of a warlike descent. The Vangiones (*f*), the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, who stretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of Ger-

man extraction. The Ubians (*g*), for their services, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own consent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they still look back with pride to their German origin. They issued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not so much with a view to their security, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

XXIX. Of all these various nations the Batavians (*a*) are the most brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Cattians, but driven out by intestine divisions, they took possession of an island, formed by the river Rhine, where without any extent of land on the continent, they established a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendship they still enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue officers. Free from burthens, imposts, and tributes, they are reserved for the day of battle; a nursery of soldiers. The Mattiaci (*b*) are in like manner attached to the interest of the Romans. In fact, the limits of the empire have been enlarged, and the terror of our arms has spread beyond the Rhine and the former boundaries. Hence the Mattiaci, still enjoying their own side of the river, are Germans by their situation, yet in sentiment and principle the friends of Rome; submitting, like the Batavians, to the authority of the empire; but, never having been transplanted,

they still retain, from their soil and climate, all the fierceness of their native character. The people between the Rhine and the Danube, who occupy a certain tract, subject to an impost of one tenth, and therefore called the Decumate Lands (*c*), are not to be reckoned among the German nations. The Gauls, from their natural levity prone to change, and rendered desperate by their poverty, were the first adventurers into that vacant region. The Roman frontier, in process of time, being advanced, and garrisons stationed at proper posts, that whole country became part of a province, and the inhabitants of course were reduced to subjection.

XXX. Beyond the Mattiaci lies the territory of the Cattians (*a*), beginning at the Hercynian forest, but not, like other parts of Germany, a wide and dreary level of fens and marshes. A continued range of hills extends over a prodigious tract, till growing thinner by degrees they sink at last into an open country. The Hercynian forest attends its favourite Cattians to their utmost boundary, and there leaves them, as it were, with regret. The people are robust and hardy; their limbs well braced (*b*); their countenance fierce, and their minds endowed with vigour beyond the rest of their countrymen. Considered as Germans, their understanding is quick and penetrating. They elect officers fit to command, and obey them implicitly; they keep their ranks, and know how to seize their opportunity; they restrain their natural impetuosity, and wait for the attack; they arrange with judgment the labours of the day,

and throw up entrenchments for the night; trusting little to fortune, they depend altogether on their valour; and what is rare in the history of barbarians, and never attained without regular discipline, they place their confidence, not in the strength of their armies, but entirely in their general (*c*). The infantry is their main strength. Each soldier carries, besides his arms, his provision and a parcel of military tools. You may see other armies rushing to a battle: the Cattians march to a war. To skirmish in detached parties, or to sally out on a sudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory hastily gained, or a quick retreat, may suit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of resolution: perseverance is the true mark of courage.

XXXI. A custom, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted only by a few individuals of a bold and ardent spirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard (*a*); nor will any one, till he has slain an enemy, divest himself of that excrescence, which by a solemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue. Over the blood and spoils of the vanquished the face of the warrior is, for the first time displayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now answered the true end of his being, and has proved himself worthy of his parents and his country. The sluggard continues unshorn, with the uncouth horrors of his visage growing wilder to the close of his days. The men

of superior courage and uncommon ferocity wear also an iron ring (*b*), in that country a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear self-condemned to slavery, till by the slaughter of an enemy they have redeemed their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow gray under a vow of heroism, and by their voluntary distinctions render themselves conspicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the first attack is made by them: they claim the front of the line as their right, presenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. Even in time of peace they retain the same ferocious aspect; never softened with an air of humanity. They have no house to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domestic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are sure of being maintained. Lavish of their neighbours' substance, and prodigal of their own, they persist in this course, till towards the decline of life their drooping spirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

XXXII. The Usipians and Tencterians (*a*) border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, still flowing in one regular channel, forms a sufficient boundary. In addition to their military character the Tencterians are famous for the discipline of their cavalry. Their horse is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wisdom of their ancestors formed the military system, and their descendants hold it in

veneration. Horsemanship is the pride of the whole country, the pastime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horses pass as part of the succession, not, however, by the general rule of inheritance to the eldest son, but, in a peculiar line, to that son who stands distinguished by his valour and his exploits in war.

XXXIII. In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned states formerly occurred the Bructerians (*a*), since that time dispossessed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians (*b*), it is said, with the consent of the adjacent tribes, invaded the country, and pursued the ancient settlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful catastrophe. The love of plunder was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with the view of a fierce engagement, and a scene of carnage, in which above sixty thousand of the enemy fell a sacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but more magnificent still! to the rage of their own internal discord, all cut off, as it were in a theatre of war, to furnish a spectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themselves. For in the present tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in store so

devoutly to be wished for as civil dissensions amongst our enemies?

XXXIV. At the back of the states, which I have now described, lie the Dulgibinians (*a*), and the Chasuarians, with other nations of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Frisians (*b*), divided into two communities, called, on account of their degrees of strength, the Greater and the Lesser Frisia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the Ocean, inclosing within their limits lakes of vast extent (*c*), where the fleets of Rome have spread their sails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are seen still standing on the coast; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact visit those parts, or that whatever is great and splendid in all quarters of the globe is by common consent, ascribed to that ancient hero. Drusus Germanicus was an adventurer in those seas (*d*). He did not want a spirit of enterprise; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempestuous ocean, which seemed to forbid any further discovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken: men conceived that to respect the mysteries of the gods, and believe without inquiry, would be the best proof of veneration (*e*).

XXXV. We have hitherto traced the western side of Germany. From the point, where we stop, it stretches away with a prodigious sweep towards

the north. In that vast region the first territory that occurs is that of the Chaucians (*a*), beginning on the confines of the Frisians, and though at the extremity bounded by the sea-shore, yet running at the back of all the nations already described, till, with an immense compass, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeasurable tract it is not sufficient to say that the Chaucians possess it; they even people it. Of all the German nations they are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing but justice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready in a just cause to unsheath the sword. Their armies are soon in the field (*b*). In men and horses their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.

XXXVI. Bordering on the side of the Chaucians, and also of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cheruscans (*a*); a people by a long disuse of arms enervated and sunk in sloth. Unmolested by their neighbours, they enjoyed the sweets of peace, forgetting that amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours the repose, which you enjoy, serves only to lull you into a calm, always pleasing, but deceitful

in the end. When the sword is drawn, and the power of the strongest is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation: those virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cheruscans: they were formerly just and upright: at present they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattians, and oppression takes the name of wisdom. The downfal of the Cheruscans drew after it that of the Fosi (*b*), a contiguous nation, in their day of prosperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-sufferers in their ruin.

XXXVII. In the same northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians (*a*) on the margin of the occean; a people at present of small consideration, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome six hundred and forty, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians first alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, we shall find a space of near two hundred and ten years: so long has Germany stood at bay with Rome! In the course of so obstinate a struggle,

both sides have felt alternately the severest blows of fortune, and the worse calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian has given such frequent lessons to the Roman people. The power of the Arsacidæ (*b*) was not so formidable as German liberty. If we except the slaughter of Crassus and his army, what has the east to boast of? Their own commander, Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Cassius (*c*), Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manlius (*d*), all defeated, or taken prisoners. With them the republic lost five consular armies; and since that time, in the reign of Augustus, Varus perished with his three legions. Caius Marius (*e*), it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæsar made them retreat from Gaul; and Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus overpowered them in their own country: but how much blood did those victories cost us? The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace succeeded, till roused at length by the dissensions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they stormed our legions in their winter-quarters (*f*), and even planned the conquest of Gaul. Indeed we forced them to repass the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is still unconquered.

XXXVIII. The Suevians (*a*) are the next that

claim attention. Possessing the largest portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one state or community, but have among themselves several subdivisions, or inferior tribes, known by distinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar custom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot (*b*). Between them and the rest of the Germans this is the mark of distinction. In their own country it serves to discriminate the freeborn from the slave. If the same mode is seen in other states, introduced by ties of consanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propensity of men to imitate foreign manners, the instances are rare, and confined entirely to the season of youth. With the Suevians the custom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are seen with their hoary locks interwoven, and fastened behind, or sometimes gathered into a shaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjusted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the spirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high structure of their hair they appear taller and gain an air of ferocity. Their dress is a preparation for battle.

XXXIX. The Semnones (*a*) are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a pro-

cession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that grovelling state makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this spot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the sacred mansion of the all-ruling mind, the supreme God of the universe (*b*), who holds every thing else in a chain of dependence on his will and pleasure. To these tenets much credit arises from the weight and influence of the Semnones, a populous nation, distributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vast extent of their territory entitled to consider themselves as the head of the Suevian nation.

XL. The Langobards (*a*) exhibit a contrast to the people last described. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independent, owing their security not to mean compliances but to that warlike spirit with which they encounter danger. To these succeed in regular or-

der the Reudignians (*b*), the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians: the Eudocians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or embosomed in forests. In these several tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or, as they call her, Herth (*c*), whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island (*d*) in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her. There stands this sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and reconducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a secret lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see, and live. This part of the Suevian nation

stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany.

XLI. On the banks of the Danube (for we shall now pursue that river, in the same manner as we have traced the course of the Rhine), the first and nearest state is that of the Hermundurians (*a*), a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reason allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are seen at large in the heart of our splendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without so much as a guard to watch their motions. To the rest of the Germans we display camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the exclusive privilege of seeing our houses and our elegant villas. They behold the splendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wish to enjoy it. In the territories of these people the Elbe takes its rise (*b*), a celebrated river, and formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

XLII. Contiguous to the last mentioned people lies the country of the Nariscans (*a*), and next in order the Marcomannians (*b*) and the Quadians. Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Nariscans or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks, and

form the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians and the Quadians, within our own memory obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus (*c*) and of Tudrus. Foreign princes at present sway the sceptre; but the strength of their monarchy (*d*) depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome. To our arms they are not often indebted: we choose rather to supply them with money.

XLIII. At the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marsignians (*a*), the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians. In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from their submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush; they submit (*b*) to the drudgery of digging iron in the mines. But a small part of the open and level country is occupied by these several nations: they dwell chiefly in forests, or on the summit of that continued ridge of mountains (*c*), by which Suevia is divided and separated from other tribes that lie still more remote. Of these the Lygians (*d*) are the most powerful, stretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of subordinate communities. It will suffice to mention the most considerable; namely the (*e*) Arians, the

Helvecones, the Manimians, the Elysians, and Naharvalians. The last show a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. The gods whom they worship are, in the language of the country, known by the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters said to be Castor and Pollux (*f*). There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no symbolic representations; no traces of foreign superstition. And yet their two deities are adored in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only superior to the other tribes above-mentioned, but are also more fierce and savage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they study to make themselves still more grim and horrible by every addition that art can devise. Their shields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour (*g*); and the darkest night is their time for rushing to battle. The sudden surprise and funereal gloom of such a band of sable warriors are sure to strike a panic through the adverse army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke loose to attack them: so true it is that in every engagement the eye is first conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next state is that of the Gothones (*h*), who live under regal government, and are, by consequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor entirely hostile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of these people we find on the sea-coast, the Rugians and Lemovians (*i*), both subject to royal authority. When their round shields and short swords are

mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

XLIV. The people that next occur are the Suiones (*a*), who may be said to inhabit the ocean itself. In addition to the strength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force (*b*). The form of their ships is peculiar. Every vessel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in use, nor is there a range of oars at the sides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different stations, and shift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great esteem (*c*); and the public mind, debased by that passion, yields to the government of one, with unconditional, with passive obedience. Despotism is here fully established. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the rest of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpose a slave is always chosen. For this policy the ostensible reason is, that the ocean is their natural fence against foreign invasions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, soon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jealousy of a despotic prince does not think it safe to commit the care of his arsenal to the nobles or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted slave is not fit to be trusted.

XLV. At the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another sea (*a*), whose sluggish waters seem to be in a state of stagnation. By this lazy element the globe is said to be encircled, and the supposition receives some colour of probability from an extraordinary phænomenon well known in those regions. The rays of the setting sun (*b*) continue till the return of day, to brighten the hemisphere with so clear a light, that the stars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the sun begins to rise, the sound of the emerging luminary is distinctly heard, and the very form of the horses, with the blaze of glory around the head of the god, is palpable to the sight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here (*c*).

On the coast to the right of the Suevian ocean (*d*) the Æstyans have fixed their habitations. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods (*e*). The figure of a wild boar is the symbol of their superstition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The use of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is exerted in another instance: they explore the sea for amber, in their language called GLESE (*f*), and are the only people who gather that curious substance. It is ge-

nerally found among the shallows; sometimes on the shore. Concerning the nature or the causes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their usual want of curiosity, make no inquiry. Amongst other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into request. To the savages it is of no use. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to sale without any form or polish, wondering at the price they receive for it. There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees (*g*), since in the transparent medium we see a variety of insects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viscous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the east has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the continents and islands of the west have their prolific groves, whose juices, fermented by the heat of the sun, dissolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the sea, and, being there condensed, is afterwards discharged by the winds and waves on the opposite shore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and, in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or rosin. Beyond the Suiones we next find the nation of Sitones (*h*), differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness, with which they suffer a woman to reign over them. Of this people it is not enough to say that they have degenerated

from civil liberty: they are sunk below slavery itself. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

XLVI. Whether the Peucinians (*a*), the Venedians, and Fennians are to be accounted Germans, or classed with the people of Sarmatia (*b*), is a point not easy to be determined: though the Peucinians, called by some the Bastarnians, bear a strong resemblance to the Germans. They use the same language: their dress and habitations are the same, and they are equally inured to sloth and filth. Of late, however, in consequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieftains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and support themselves by plunder amidst the woods and mountains, that separate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithstanding, to be ascribed to Germany, inasmuch as they have settled habitations, know the use of shields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their swiftness. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horseback or in wagons. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians (*e*), nor is there any thing so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage; the skins of beasts their only clothing; and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which for want of iron, they prefix a

pointed bone. The women follow the chase in company with the men, and claim their share of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidst the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the same habitation, and amidst the trees old age is rocked to rest. Savage as this way of life may seem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful vicissitudes of hope and fear, which always attend the defence and the acquisition of property. Secure against the passions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon state of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a single wish (*d*).

The rest of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Hellusians and the Oxionians, of whom we are told, that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beasts. But reports of this kind, unsupported by proof, I shall leave to the pen of others.

THE END.

NOTES

ON

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH BOOKS

OF

THE HISTORY.

NOTES

ON

THE FOURTH BOOK

OF THE

HISTORY.

Section II.

(*a*) For Aricia, see the Geographical Table at the end of the sixth volume.

(*b*) For Bovillæ, see the Geographical Table.

Section III.

(*a*) For Lucilius Bassus, see Hist. ii. s. 100; and Hist. iii. s. 12.

(*b*) We have here a severe reflection, but fatally founded in truth. Seneca speaks to the same purpose. *Ita naturâ comparatum est, ut altius injuriæ, quam merita descendant; et hæc cito defluant, illas tenax memoria custodiet.* De Benef. lib. i. cap. 1. Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmsbury, seems to have had his eye on Tacitus, when he says, "Benefits oblige, and obligation is thraldom; and unrequitable obligation perpetual thraldom, which is hateful." Leviath. p. 48.

(*c*) See Suetonius, in Domit. s. 1.

Section IV.

(*a*) Mucianus assumed a character above the rank of a pri-

vate citizen, when he took upon him to address the consuls and the senate. See Cicero ad Familiares, epist. xv.

(*b*) Triumphs and triumphal ornaments were never granted for a victory over Roman citizens. For that reason, some advantage which Mucianus had gained over the Sarmatians served as a pretext.

Section V.

(*a*) Helvidius Priscus has been mentioned, Annals, xvi. s. 35. As Cluvius was his father, it follows that he was adopted by a person of the name of Helvidius Priscus. Lipsius thinks it was by Helvidius mentioned Annals, xii. s. 49, who at that time served in Asia in the capacity of military tribune.

(*b*) For Pætus Thrasea, see Annals, xvi. s. 28 and 35.

Section VI.

(*a*) When the love of honest fame becomes the ruling passion, good men are unwilling to resign it; and, accordingly, we often see it displayed in the last act of their lives.

(*b*) Helvidius was banished by Nero, Annals, xvi. s. 35. He returned to Rome among the exiles whom Galba restored to their country. See Hist. ii. s. 92.

(*c*) Eprius Marcellus was the mortal enemy of Thrasea. See Annals, xvi. s. 28.

(*d*) The decree of the senate, by which the imperial prerogative was vested in the emperor, is usually called *Lex Regia*. Brotier says, the law passed in favour of Vespasian is still extant on a table of brass, carefully preserved at Rome. See his Tacitus, 4to edit. vol. iii. p. 487.

Section VII.

(*a*) Who Sentius was, does not appear. Brotier thinks there is a mistake in the text, and that the true reading is Seneca, with whom Vespasian was probably connected in friendship.

SECTION VIII.

(*a*) Ambassadors, and deputies sent on particular occasions, were generally chosen by ballot, as appears in Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 17. See also Suetonius, in Aug. s. 35.

(*b*) See the speech of Eprius Marcellus against Thrasea, Annals, xvi. s. 28.

SECTION IX.

(*a*) For the managers of the *Ærarium*, or the public treasury, see Annals, xiii. s. 29.

(*b*) Helvidius contended for the independency of the senate. His enemies took care to store that circumstance in their minds for a future day. The ruin of this excellent man was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 22.

SECTION X.

(*a*) Musonius Rufus has been often mentioned. See Annals, xiv. s. 59; Annals, xv. s. 71; Hist. iii. s. 79.

(*b*) Egnatius Celer; Annals, xvi. s. 32.

(*c*) For Barea Soranus, see Annals, xii. s. 53; Annals, xvi. s. 21 and 23.

SECTION XI.

(*a*) Calpurnius Galerianus was the son of Calpurnius Piso, who dispatched himself to avoid Nero's cruelty. Annals, xv. s. 59.

(*b*) Asiaticus was the favourite freedman of Vitellius. Hist. ii. s. 57, 95.

SECTION XII.

(*a*) For the Batavi and the Catti, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 29.

(*b*) The Batavians served in Britain as the allies and auxiliaries of Rome. Life of Agricola, s. 18 and 36.

Section XIII.

(*a*) Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis were brothers, as appears in this book, s. 32. Civilis is called Julius Civilis, Hist. i. s. 59. Perhaps his name was Julius Claudius Civilis.

(*b*) For Hannibal's person, see Livy, lib. xxii; and for Sestorius, see his Life in Plutarch.

Section XIV.

(*a*) The barbarians consulted about the operations of war at their carousing festivals, and frequently in their sacred groves. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 9 and 22. Brotier thinks the wood where Civilis held his convention, was between the Rhine and the Mosa, (the *Meuse*,) at a place now called *Dooden-Werd.*

Section XV.

(*a*) The Caninefates occupied the western part of the island of Batavia, as Brotier thinks, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam.*

(*b*) For Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) Caligula's wild expedition into Germany, A. U. C. 793.

(*d*) For the Frisii, see the Geographical Table.

(*e*) The part of the island now called *Betuwe*, or *Betaw.*

Section XVII.

(*a*) The defeat of Vindex at Visontium in Gaul. See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

(*b*) Before tributes imposed, A. U. C. 769.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) For *Vetera*, or *Vetera Castra*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section XIX.

(*a*) For Bonna, now *Bonn*, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section XXI.

(*a*) For the Bructeri and Tencteri, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume; and Annals, xiii. s. 56.

Section XXII.

(*a*) The barbarians carried the heads and images of wild beasts among their standards. See the Manners of the Germans, s. 7.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) The observation which Tacitus has compressed into a maxim, is explained by Cicero in his more open style. Having mentioned a number of prodigies, he says, *Atque hæc in bello plura et majora videntur timentibus; eadem non tam animadvertuntur in pace. Accedit illud etiam, quod in metu et periculo, cum creduntur facilius, tum finguntur impunius.* Cicero de Divinatione, lib. ii. s. 27. This may account for the portents and prodigies which so often occur in the Roman historians, who are often said to be superstitious, when they are giving a true picture of the public mind. See the phænomena of this kind, Hist. i. s. 86.

(*b*) For Novesium, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) For Gelduba, see the Geographical Table.

(*d*) The Gugerni, originally a people of Germany, inhabiting the country now called *Cleves* and *Gueldre*, between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) See the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The Menapii and Morini, in the Geographical Table.

(*c*) Marcodurum. See the Geographical Table.

Section XXX.

(*a*) The prætorian gate of a Roman camp was opposite to the Decuman. See Annals, i. s. 66.

(*b*) This extraordinary engine was invented by Archimedes, the celebrated geometrician, during the siege of Syracuse, which was conducted by Marcellus. See Polybius, lib. viii.

Section XXXI.

(*a*) The victory at Cremona was about the end of October. Hist. iii. s. 22.

Section XXXIII.

(*a*) For Asciburgium, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*b*) The Vascones inhabited the country of *Navarre*.

(*c*) For Novesium and Magontiacum, see the Geographical Table.

Section XXXVII.

(*a*) Vitellius died about the end of December.

(*b*) For the Catti, Usipii, Mattiaci, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section XXXVIII.

(*a*) The province of Africa, now the kingdom of *Tunis*.

(*b*) To have plenty of corn is the only patriot care of the vulgar. Juvenal adds the love of spectacles in the circus:

——— duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem et Circenses. Sat. x. ver. 80.

Section XXXIX.

(*a*) Brotier says that several works by Frontinus, which show

more labour than genius, are still extant; such as, *Stratagemata*, *De Coloniis*, *De Aquæductibus*. Being city-prætor, he convened the senate on the first of January, in the absence of the consuls, Vespasian and his son Titus.

(*b*) Scribonianus Crassus was the brother of Piso, whom Galba adopted. Hist. i. s. 15 and 16.

Section XL.

(*a*) The calendar in Nero's time was filled with days of supplication and public thanks.

(*b*) See this book, s. 10.

(*c*) Demetrius attended Thrasea in his last moments. Annals, xvi. s. 35. And now the same defends the prosecutor of Soranus: such was the consistency of a philosopher by profession!

(*d*) See the praise of Junius Mauricus in Pliny the younger, lib. iv. epist. 22. See also Life of Agricola, s. 45.

Section XLI.

(*a*) The two Scribonii, whose names were Rufus and Proculus, were put to death by Nero, at the instigation of Pactius Africanus, A. U. C. 820. See Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 11.

(*b*) For Vibius Crispus, see History ii. s. 10; and see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, s. 8.

Section XLII.

(*a*) Messala, not of senatorian age, that is, not five-and-twenty.

(*b*) Regulus was a practised informer. Pliny calls him *Bipedum nequissimus*. Lib. i. epist. 5. See lib. ii. epist. 20.

(*c*) Crassus Camerinus and Scribonianus Camerinus were accused by Regulus in the reign of Nero, and put to death. See Pliny, lib. i. epist. 5. Cornelius Orphitus was consul in the time of Claudius, A. U. C. 804. Annals, xii. s. 41. He was afterwards a time-serving orator under Nero, Annals, xvi. s. 12.

(*d*) Curtius Montanus is mentioned with contempt and

ridicule; a man distinguished by the enormous size of his belly.

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.

SAT. iv. s. 107.

SECTION XLIV.

(*a*) The murder committed by Octavius Sabinus Sagitta is related more fully, Annals, xiii. s. 44.

(*b*) Antistius Sosianus was banished for his verses against Nero. Annals, xiv. s. 48. See also Annals, xvi. s. 14.

SECTION XLV.

(*a*) For Colonia Senensis, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

SECTION XLVII.

(*a*) Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was murdered by the Vitellians. Hist. iii. s. 74.

SECTION L.

(*a*) For name of Bebius Massa, see Life of Agricola, s. 45. He is mentioned by Juvenal as a noted informer:

—— Quem Massa timet, quem numera palpat
Carus.

(*b*) For Adrumetum, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) For the cities of Ocensis and Leptis, see the Geographical Table.

SECTION LIII.

(*a*) Lucius Vestinus was a native of *Vienne*, a city near Lyons.

(*b*) Upon all solemn occasions the Romans made choice of men whose names they thought auspicious. See Cicero De Divinatione, lib. i. s. 102.

(*c*) The splendour and magnificence of the Capitol and the Temple of Jupiter are described by Plutarch, Life of Poplicola.

Section LIV.

(*a*) The order of Druids had been suppressed in Gaul by Tiberius. Pliny, lib. xxx. s. 4; and the emperor Claudius extinguished their religion. Suetonius, in Claud. s. 25. It is probable, therefore, that a race of Druids was sent from Britain.

Section LV.

(*a*) For the Ubii, Tungri, Treviri, and Lingones, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LVI.

(*a*) Betasii, inhabitants of what is now called *Brabant*.

Section LVII.

(*a*) For Sacrovir, see Annals, iii. s. 46.

(*b*) For Vindex, and the revolt in Gaul under his conduct, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 12.

Section LXI.

(*a*) To bind themselves by a solemn vow, not to clip their hair or beard till they had accomplished their revenge, was usual among barbarians. The custom obtained in civilized nations, insomuch that Suetonius tells us of Julius Cæsar, *Milites deligebat usque adeo, ut, audita clade Tituriana, barbam capillumque summiserit, nec ante dempserit, quam vindicasset.* Suet. in Jul. Cæs. s. 67. See also the Manners of the Germans.

(*b*) For *Veleda*, and other prophetic women, see the Manners of the Germans, s. 8.

Section LXII.

(*a*) A squadron of cavalry raised by the people of Picentia, whose territory, called *Ager Picentinus*, lay on the Tuscan Sea.

Section LXIV.

(*a*) The Romans kept the nations in subjection, not so much by their arms as by their allurements of pleasure, which they called civilization. See the Life of Agricola, s. 21.

Section LXVI.

(*a*) For the Sunici, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LXVII.

(*a*) Tables of brass, on which was engraved the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Lingones.

(*b*) For the Sequani, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*c*) The account here promised of Eponina's fidelity has not come down to us. She was discovered in a cavern with Sabinus her husband nine years afterwards, and with him conveyed to Rome. Plutarch, who relates the particulars, says that her death was the disgrace of Vespasian's reign. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 23.

(*d*) The Remi inhabited what is now called the diocese of *Rheims*.

Section LXIX.

(*a*) See Appendix to Annals, xvi.

Section LXX.

(*a*) The country about *Bruges*.

(*b*) The Rhæti, now the *Grisons*.

(*c*) Vangiones, now the diocese of *Worms*.

(*d*) For Bingium, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

(*e*) Nava, a river that runs into the Rhine. See the Geographical Table.

(*f*) Mediomatrici, now the diocese of *Mentz*.

Section LXXI.

(*a*) Rigodulum; now *Rigol*, on the *Moselle*, near *Treves*.

Section LXXIII.

(*a*) See Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 8 and 12; Plutarch, in Mario; and Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark, vol. i. p. 13.

(*b*) For Ariovistus, the German chief who pushed his conquests in Gaul, see Cæsar De Bell. Gall. lib. i. s. 31.

Section LXXIV.

(*a*) No tribute was required from the Gauls, but what was absolutely necessary for the support of government.

(*b*) Seneca expresses himself to the same effect: *Omnia itaque sic patitur sapiens, ut hiemis rigorem, et intemperantiam cœli, ut fervores morbosque, et cætera forte accidentia.* Seneca, De Constantiâ Sapientis, cap. 9. Pope has said in the same spirit:

> If plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design,
> Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

Section LXXVI.

(*a*) The Treviri and Lingones had been persuaded by Cerealis to lay down their arms.

Section LXXVII.

(*a*) Hordeonius Flaccus and Vocula were murdered by their own soldiers. Numisius and Herennius died by the sword of the enemy.

Section LXXIX.

(*a*) Tolbiacum, now *Zulpich*, in the diocese of *Cologne*.

(*b*) Brotier says, a military road may still be traced from *Gessoriacum* (now *Boulogne*) to *Atuatuca*, the capital of the *Tungri*, now *Tongres*, in the bishopric of *Liege*.

Section LXXX.

(*a*) The son of Vitellius, called Germanicus, Hist. ii. s. 59.

(*b*) See Hist. ii. s. 86.

(*c*) Cæcina was kept in chains by his own soldiers, Hist. iii. s. 31.

Section LXXXI.

(*a*) It is not clear that Tacitus placed any faith in this extraordinary story. He says, indeed, that the two miracles were attested by men who were eye-witnesses, and had no longer any interest to corrupt their testimony. But that very observation implies that there might have been, at the point of time, *mendacio pretium:* if so, men, who have been the authors of a lie, are not always willing to convict themselves. It is moreover evident that they might have been imposed upon. We see that Vespasian was afraid of exposing himself to public ridicule, and therefore consulted the physicians, who reported that the two men were curable; and in consequence of that opinion, Vespasian was willing to hazard the attempt, as Suetonius says, before a public assembly, *palam pro concione.* The physicians, it is highly probable, produced the two patients, when they had by their previous arts insured the emperor's success. The story is not related by Tacitus with the air of a man who believed the fact: he has elsewhere given his reason for sometimes admitting the improbable into his narrative: *Vulgatis traditisque demere fidem non ausim.* Voltaire seems to be the only writer who has endeavoured to establish this miraculous cure. He says, *De toutes les guérisons miraculeuses, les plus attestées, les plus authentiques sont celles de cet aveugle, à qui l'empereur Vespasian rendit la vue, et de ce paralytic auquel il rendit l'usage de ses membres. Ce n'est pas lui qui cherche à se faire valoir par des prestiges, dont un monarque affermi n'a pas besoin.* Voltaire's reason for giving credit to the story is highly unfortunate. Vespasian was far from being established in the imperial seat. Suetonius expressly says, he was not then possessed of the sovereign majesty: *Autoritas et quasi majestas quædam novo principi deerat.* See Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 7. The new emperor was advised by his friends to act his part on the occasion. The pretended power of working miracles was thought

good policy. Voltaire does not appear to have examined the story with due attention. It is well known that his remarks are often made with a sinister purpose.

(*b*) In case of sickness, it was the custom of the common people, by the advice of the Egyptian priests, to abstain from food, and lie in the Temple of Serapis, stretched on the skins of victims slain at the altar. Hence the distempered visions of crazed imaginations, which were considered as *light divine and prophecy.*

(*c*) Suetonius relates the two miracles; but what Tacitus calls a paralytic hand, he says was a *paralytic leg.* In Vesp. s. 7.

(*d*) Tacitus wrote his History in the reign of Trajan, when the Vespasian or Flavian family was extinct.

Section LXXXII.

(*a*) This account of Vespasian and Basilides is related by Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 7.

(*b*) The name of Basilides, from the Greek word Βασιλιδης, gave Vespasian stronger hopes of attaining the sovereign power.

Section LXXXIII.

(*a*) The descendants of Eumolpus, called Eumolpidæ, were the priests of Ceres, who presided over the rites called, from the town of *Eleusis*, the *Eleusinian mysteries.*

(*b*) For Sinope, see the Geographical Table at the end of the Sixth Volume.

Section LXXXIV.

(*a*) For the city of Rhacatis, see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) For Memphis, see the Geographical Table.

Section LXXXV.

(*a*) Valentinus, mentioned in this book, s. 71.

Section LXXXVI.

(*a*) Domitian is praised by Silius Italicus for the ability and conduct with which he ended the Batavian war:

At tu transcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,
Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo.
Lib. iii. ver. 607.

But Silius Italicus offered the incense of a poet to the reigning prince. Cerealis was the general that conquered the Batavian chief. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 1.

(*b*) Domitian is highly praised by Quintilian for his love of literature; lib. x. cap. 1; and also by Silius Italicus, lib. iii. ver. 618. Suetonius agrees with Tacitus: *Simulavit et ipse modestiam, imprimisque poeticæ studium, tam insuetum antea sibi, quàm postea spretum et abjectum.* Suetonius, in Domit. s. 2.

NOTES

ON

THE FIFTH BOOK

OF

THE HISTORY.

Section I.

(*a*) Titus served with his father in Britain, in Germany, and Judæa. Suetonius, in Vesp. s. 4; in Tito, s. 4.

(*b*) See an account of the army under Titus; Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. v. cap. 6.

Section II.

(*a*) This account of the origin of the Jewish nation has been the subject of much elaborate criticism. The commentators are not a little surprised that an historian, of an enlarged and comprehensive mind, should not have thought it worth his while to gain the most exact information concerning a people, whose final ruin he was to relate. That neglect is still more surprising, when it is considered that, in the reign of Trajan, when Tacitus published his work, the page of Jewish history was fully disclosed, and accessible to the curiosity of every Roman. Josephus lived at Rome, under Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian; and under the last of those emperors his History of the War in Judæa was published. Tacitus, however, neglecting all these advantages, has given an account so mixed with fable, that the gleam of truth, which breaks out in one short passage, is almost extinguished by

the surrounding rubbish. He deduces the origin of the Jews from five different nations; namely, the Cretans, the Egyptians, the Æthiopians, the Assyrians, and the Solymans mentioned by Homer. These various opinions are reported with an air of indecision that leaves the reader to choose for himself. The Jews, it is true, were beheld by the Romans with contempt and detestation. Tacitus charges the whole nation with a fixed and sullen hatred of all mankind; *adversus omnes alios hostile odium;* and it is therefore probable, that, with regard to such a race, he did not think it necessary to enter into a minute inquiry, though the materials were within his reach; and it is certain that no people whatever have been so careful to preserve the proofs of their descent from a single founder, and to transmit to posterity the regular genealogy of their several families.

(*b*) This was the fabulous tradition of the Greeks, who deduced all things from Jupiter and Saturn, and were at great pains to embellish and disseminate their own mythology.

(*c*) The Æthiopians, according to Pliny the elder, lib. vi. s. 29, were in remote ages a great and powerful people. They held Egypt in subjection, and were the founders of an empire in Syria. Josephus in his Jewish Antiquities has a tradition, that Moses commanded armies in Æthiopia. Hence the Jews were said to have issued from Æthiopia.

(*d*) We have in this passage something that borders on the truth. Abraham went forth from the Ur of the Chaldees; Genesis, xi. ver. 31. He went into Egypt to sojourn there, Genesis, xii. ver. 10. The history of his posterity in Egypt, and the journey into Syria and the land of Canaan, clearly prove the descent of the Jews from Abraham, and throw a light upon what our author says of their Assyrian origin. Tacitus, however, not having investigated the fact, gives the various opinions that were floating in the world, and leaves the truth to rest on better authority.

(*e*) Homer was held in such high veneration throughout Greece, that his verses often decided the limits of disputed lands, and threw a lustre round every state or people recorded in his poems.

SECTION III.

(*a*) Justin mentions this epidemic distemper, and calls it *scabiem ac vitiliginem;* that is, the leprosy. Justin, lib. xxxvi. s. 2. We now know that it was inflicted by God, who said to Pharaoh, *Let my people go, that they may serve me; and if thou refuse to let them go, and wilt hold them still, there shall be a very grievous murrain.* See Exodus, ix. ver. 1, 2, 3, and 10. That the passage through the Red Sea should be omitted by Tacitus, Brotier observes, can not be matter of wonder, since it is related even by Josephus in a manner that adds no authenticity to the miracle.

(*b*) The oracle of Jupiter Hammon is mentioned by Pliny, lib. v. s. 9. *In Cyrenaicâ Hammonis oraculum, fidei inclitæ.* See also Pomponius Mela, lib. i. cap. 8.

(*c*) In the wide plains of Arabia.

(*d*) And they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water. Exodus, xv. ver. 22.

(*e*) This discovery of springs in a shady grove calls to mind what Moses tells us: *And they came to Elim, where were twelve wells of water, and threescore and ten palm trees.* Exodus, xv. ver. 27. Where Tacitus found the romantic incident of the troop of wild asses, does not appear. The story is amusing, and probably was adopted in the narrative, to prepare the reader for the consecration of that animal, as mentioned in the following section.

(*f*) Brotier observes, that a journey into Palestine, through the deserts of Arabia, could not be performed in six days, as it appears, in the memoirs of the French Missionaries in the Levant, tom. vii. p. 5, that father Sicard went over that whole tract of country, and did not reach Mount Sinai till the thirtieth day. Brotier adds, that in what Tacitus relates, something like the truth is still to be found, since we are told that Joshua and the children of Israel went round the city of Jericho once, and continued so to do SIX DAYS, and on the SEVENTH DAY, which was the Sabbath, entered the city; and, having extirpated the inhabitants, became masters of the country where David built a city, and Solomon dedicated a temple. See Joshua, vi. ver. 3, 20, and 21.

Section IV.

(*a*) Moses introduced a system of religion very different from the polytheism and superstitious ceremonies of the Romans. Tacitus speaks with marked disapprobation; but the errors of prejudice have been long since refuted.

(*b*) Whatever was sacred at Rome, was, beyond all doubt, profane at Jerusalem. The Jews worshipped one God, and, by consequence, the Pagan mythology fell into contempt.

(*c*) The veneration here said to have been paid in the Temple to the image of an ass, is refuted by Tacitus himself, who says, in the following section, that the Jews suffered no consecrated statues or images to be erected either in their cities or their temples. *Nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sinunt.* He tells us afterwards, that when Pompey conquered Jerusalem, and made his entry into the Temple, he found neither statues nor images, but a void and empty tabernacle. *Nullâ intus deûm effigie, vacuam sedem, et inania arcana.* See this book, s. 9.

(*d*) An ox or calf was worshipped at Memphis as a god, under the name of Apis. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 20. The Jews, before they were instructed in the knowledge of the true God, were willing, in imitation of the Egyptians, to worship a golden calf. Exodus, xxxii. ver. 4. But the sacrifices in contempt of Jupiter Hammon, and the superstitious rites of Memphis, are not vouched by any good authority. Whoever killed an ox, or lamb, or goat, was ordered to bring it as an offering at the tabernacle. Leviticus, xvii.

(*e*) The leprosy, described in Leviticus, xiii. and xiv.

(*f*) There was scarce a month in the Jewish calendar without a number of fast-days; but they were instituted to record signal events, not in commemoration of the famine in the desert.

(*g*) The unleavened bread, mentioned Exodus, xii. 8. It was not, as Tacitus insinuates, their common food; it was, as we read in Deuteronomy, xvi. the *bread of affliction*, which they were to eat for seven days, in memory of the day when they came forth out of the land of Egypt.

(*h*) The seventh day was a day of rest, but not for the reason given by Tacitus: it was the Sabbath of the Lord; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it. Exodus, xx. ver. 10, 11.

(*i*) The seventh year was also a year of rest, not for the sake of sluggish inactivity, but in consequence of an express command: *Six years thou shalt sow the field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard; but the seventh year shall be a Sabbath of rest unto the land, a Sabbath for the Lord*, Leviticus, xxv. ver. 3 and 4. There was still another Sabbath of more importance: *The space of seven Sabbaths of years shall be forty-nine years, and ye shall hallow the fiftieth year; for it is the jubilee, it shall be holy unto you*. Leviticus, xxv. ver. 8, 9, and 10. Josephus says, that Julius Cæsar, when he imposed an annual tribute on the Jewish nation, made an exception of the seventh year, which was called the Sabbath, when the people neither reaped nor sowed. See Cæsar's decree, Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. cap. 10.

(*k*) It was natural enough that they, who deduced the origin of the Jews from the inhabitants of Mount Ida, should consider the Sabbath as an institution in honour of Saturn; but that hypothesis has been sufficiently refuted in the two last notes.

(*l*) The orbit which Saturn describes is at a greater distance from the sun than any planet in the solar system: but judicial astrology has been long considered as a vain exploded science.

(*m*) Tacitus says that the life of man is governed by the revolutions of the seven planets: that doctrine was not only taught by the Egyptian and Pythagorean philosophy, but has been adopted by modern astrologers. Hence the calculation proceeding by a series of seven years to the grand climacteric, at the age of sixty-three. The Jews, however, had very different reasons for their Sabbaths of years.

Section V.

(*a*) The force of national prejudice was never more strongly

displayed. Tacitus thought nothing orthodox but the creed of his own country; and, in his eyes, the depravity of the Jews consisted in preferring the worship of one God to Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and the rest of the monstrous deities with which superstition had peopled heaven.

(*b*) The Jews were not entirely confined within the limits of Palestine; they went forth in quest of gain, and settled in every quarter where trade and commerce flourished. Wherever they fixed, they retained their own principles, and despised the established religion of the place. This is called *adversus omnes alios hostile odium.* Not being able to attend the tabernacle with their offerings, they collected among themselves a considerable treasure, and sent it as an annual tribute to the Temple of Jerusalem. Hence the immense heaps of gold and silver that fell into the hands of the Romans; and hence the Jews were said to love one another, and to hate the rest of mankind.

(*c*) It is not necessary to cite from Deuteronomy the laws against adultery, and the virgins of Israel that suffered themselves to be seduced. Tacitus transfers the guilt of individuals to the whole nation.

(*d*) Circumcision is called a token of the covenant, Genesis, xvii. ver. 2. This shows that it was not derived from the Egyptians, according to the notion entertained by some of the learned.

(*e*) The Romans had power of life and death over their own children, and were not willing to be encumbered with a numerous issue.

(*f*) It is certain that the Hebrews interred their dead, since Abraham's burying-place is frequently mentioned in scripture. That the Egyptians buried their dead, is plain from their usage of embalming them. It is probable that the practice of burning the bodies of the deceased, sprung originally from a design to prevent any outrage to the bodies from their enemies. Sylla, among the Romans, was the first of his family who ordered his body to be burnt, lest the barbarities which he had exercised on the remains of Marius should be retaliated on his own. Cicero

says, *Proculdubio cremandi ritus a Græcis venit, nam sepultum legimus Numam ad Anienis fontem, totique genti Corneliæ solemne fuisse sepulchrum usque ad Syllam, qui primus ex eâ gente crematus est.* Tully De Legibus, lib. 2.

(*g*) The Egyptians believed in a state of future rewards and punishments. See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. s. 51.

(*h*) The Jews believed in one God; the Egyptians were polytheists, and even worshipped brute animals; *omnigenumque deûm monstra.*

(*i*) We have here a sublime idea of one great, supreme, and governing mind; of one omnipotent, eternal God. It is astonishing that Tacitus did not pause in deep reflection upon what he could so well describe.

(*k*) No mention is made in any part of the Bible of Jewish priests crowned with ivy. A vine wrought in gold, of prodigious weight, is mentioned by Josephus as a magnificent ornament. See Jewish Antiquities, book xv. chap. 11.

(*l*) The Roman *dies festus* signified a day consecrated to joy, and song, and dance, and public spectacles. It was otherwise with the Jews. At stated periods they commemorated public misfortunes; and grief, and fasting, sackcloth and ashes distinguished their religious ceremonies, wholly different from the rites of Bacchus, and therefore called absurd and sordid. Tacitus, it must be said, has given us an unfavourable picture of the Jews. Voltaire has painted them in harsher colours; but he concludes that they ought to be exempted from the fires of the Inquisition: *Il ne faut pas pourtant les bruler.*

Section VI.

(*a*) Arabia extended from Egypt to Chaldæa, and from the Euphrates, which washes Syria, to the Arabian gulf. It is divided into three parts, viz. *Arabia Felix*, *Petræa*, and *Deserta.*

(*b*) The snow of *Lebanon* is mentioned, Jeremiah, xviii. ver. 14.

(*c*) Now the *Jourdain*. See an elegant description of this river, Pliny, lib. v. s. 15.

(*d*) The first of the lakes is Samachonites, mentioned by Josephus; the second Cinnereth, by Joshua; the third Asphaltus, called by Milton the Asphaltic Pool, by others Mare Mortuum, from the immobility of its waters. It is said by Josephus to be seventy miles in length, and in some places twelve or thirteen in breadth.

(*e*) All travellers agree in stating the noxious taste and smell of the Asphaltic Lake. See Pococke, Description of the East, tom. ii. p. 37, where we also read that the water, impregnated with salt and sulphur, or *bitumen*, weighs much more than fresh water, and consequently lets nothing sink. Pliny says of this lake, *Asphaltites nihil præter bitumen gignit; unde nomen: Tauri camelique fluitant. Inde fama nihil in eo mergi.* Pliny, lib. v. s. 16. It is related by Josephus, that Vespasian, in order to make an experiment, ordered some prisoners, with their hands tied behind their backs, to be thrown into the lake; when they all emerged and floated on the surface. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. iv. ver. 8.

(*f*) Brotier says, upon the authority of an eminent traveller in the east, that the slime, or *bitumen*, by the Greeks called *asphalte*, is thrown up on the surface of the waters during the autumn, probably from the places mentioned in the Bible. *The vale of Siddim, which is the salt sea, was full of slime-pits.* Genesis, xiv. ver. 3 and 10. And this concretion, after floating for some time, is driven by the wind to the shore, where it is carefully collected by the Arabs for their own use and profit, after delivering a certain proportion to the Bassa of Jerusalem.

Section VII.

(*a*) The cities were *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admak*, *Zeboiim*. Genesis, xiv. ver. 2. *The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire, and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain.* Genesis, xix. ver. 24 and 25.

(*b*) Belus, a river of Galilee, running from the foot of Mount Carmel, and emptying itself into the Mediterranean. Strabo says that the whole coast has a sand fit for glass, but that the sand of the river Belus is the best sort. Here the art of making glass was first discovered. See Pliny, lib. v. s. 19.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Justin informs us, that the power of Demetrius I. and his successors, kings of Syria, not being supported with vigour, the Jews took their opportunity to shake off a foreign yoke, and assert their liberty. See Justin, lib. xxxvi. ver. 1 and 3. In confirmation of this, we read in Maccabees a treaty between Demetrius and Simon the high priest, A. U. C. 611; before Christ 143: and thus *the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel, and the people of Israel began to write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the high priest, the governor and leader of the Jews.* 1 Maccabees, xiii. ver. 41 and 42.

Section IX.

(*a*) Pompey made himself master of Jerusalem, A. U. C. 691; before Christ 63. He entered the Temple and the Holy of Holies; but according to Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 4. abstained from plunder, content with imposing an annual tribute. See Florus, lib. iii. cap. 5; and Cicero, *pro Flacco*, s. 28.

(*b*) This passage affords another proof that the effigy of an ass was not consecrated in the Temple, as mentioned by Tacitus. This book, s. 4.

(*c*) Brotier observes, that Pacorus was son of Orodes, king of Parthia, and therefore thinks it probable that Tacitus wrote *F. R. Parthorum Pacorus*, that is, *Filius Regis Parthorum Pacorus*. He was sent by his father Orodes to wage war in Judæa, A. U. C. 714; and in the following year defeated and put to death by

Ventidius, the favourite general of Marc Antony. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 13, 14, and 15.

(*d*) Herod was raised to the throne by Marc Antony, A. U. C. 714, and his title was confirmed by a decree of the senate, A. U. C. 717. Josephus, Jewish Antiquities, xiv. ver. 26 and 28.

(*e*) The Simon mentioned in this place must not be confounded with the chief of that name, who was taken prisoner at the siege of Jerusalem, and afterwards executed at Rome. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 20.

(*f*) Caligula had the frantic ambition to have his statue placed in the Temple of Jerusalem; but the Jews had recourse to arms: another proof of their resolution not to suffer the tabernacle to be profaned by images of any kind. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

(*g*) See Annals, xii. s. 23.

(*h*) Felix was brother to Pallas, the favourite freedman and minister of the emperor Claudius. Annals, xii. s. 54. Suetonius, in Claud. s. 28.

(*i*) Claudius was son of Antonia, the daughter of Marc Antony. See the Genealogical Table, No. 100.

Section X.

(*a*) The Jewish war, occasioned by the misconduct of Cassius Florus, began A. U. C. 818; of Christ 65. See Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

(*b*) For more of Cestius Gallus, see Appendix to Hist. v. s. 4.

(*c*) Vespasian's rapid success against the Jews was A. U. C. 820 and 821.

(*d*) See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 2. Titus's first camp was near the Mount of Olives. See D'Anville's plan.

Section XI.

(*a*) See Appendix to this book, s. 5.

(*b*) See Appendix, s. 5; and D'Anville's plan.

Section XII.

(*a*) For a description of the Temple, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 5; and Appendix to this book, s. 5.

(*b*) Pompey had destroyed the outward walls of Jerusalem, as mentioned in this book, s. 9. The fortifications we find were made stronger than ever. See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 4.

(*c*) For the several conquered cities, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

(*d*) The factions that distracted the city of Jerusalem, attacked one another with a degree of animosity more inveterate than they ever showed in battle with the Romans.

(*e*) See Josephus, Bell. Jud. v. cap. 6.

Section XIII.

(*a*) When the Romans heard of a monstrous birth, or were told that a cow spoke, their priests employed superstitious rites and sacrifices to avert impending danger. The Jews were not so easily alarmed; but however inclined they had formerly been to propitiate Heaven by prayer and sacrifice, their final doom was drawing nigh, as foretold by Christ. St. Matthew, xxiv; St. Mark, xiii; St. Luke, xxi.

(*b*) For these prodigies, see Josephus, Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5; and see Appendix to this book, s. 6.

(*c*) Tacitus condemns the Jews for not rightly understanding a prophecy, which he himself has misapplied. But it is evident that it could not relate to the short reign of Vespasian and his two sons. The Christian religion was at that time striking root in Judæa, and we know it has been since extended over the world. We can not, however, wonder at the misconception of Tacitus, when it is considered that Josephus, willing, perhaps, to pay his court to the imperial family, did not hesitate to say that the prophecy related to Vespasian. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 5.

(*d*) Josephus says that eleven hundred thousand perished during the siege. Bell. Jud. vi. cap. 9.

Section XIV.

(*a*) For Vetera Castra, see the Geographical Table. Civilis had made himself master of the place; Hist. iv. s. 60.

Section XVII.

(*a*) See the Manners of the Germans, s. 11.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Annius Gallus has been mentioned, Hist. iv. s. 68.

(*b*) Those towns lay between the *Meuse* (*Mosa*) and the *Rhine*, supposed to be *Gennep*, *Cleves*, and *Nimeguen*.

(*c*) For the bank raised by Drusus, see Annals, xxiii. s. 53.

(*d*) We have seen a senate and magistrates among the Frisians, Annals, xi. s. 19.

Section XX.

(*a*) For Arenacum and Batavodurum, see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Grinnes and Vada: see the Geographical Table.

Section XXI.

(*a*) See Hist. iv. s. 70.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Luppia, now the *Lippe*. See the Geographical Table. For Veleda, see Hist. iv. s. 61.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) For the mouth of the *Meuse*, see Annals, ii. s. 6.

Section XXVI.

(*a*) Nabalia, the channel made by Drusus: see the Geographical Table.

(*b*) Letters from Antonius, exciting Civilis to a war, in order to hinder the legions on the Rhine from marching to support Vitellius in Italy. See Hist. iv. s. 13.

(*c*) The rest of the History is lost, and with it the siege of Jerusalem, with the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian.

END OF THE NOTES

ON THE

FIVE BOOKS OF THE HISTORY.

NOTES

ON

THE APPENDIX.

Section II.

(*a*) See Josephus, Bell. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 4.

Section III.

(*a*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

(*b*) Hist. v. s. 1.

Section IV.

(*a*) Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

Section V.

(*a*) Hist v. s. 11.

(*b*) Fenton's tragedy, entitled Herod and Mariamne, is known to every reader of taste.

(*c*) Tacitus says, *Templum in modum arcis;* this book, s. 12.

Section VI.

(*a*) Josephus gives the same account.

Section VII.

(*a*) *When you shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh: then let them which are in*

Judæa flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let them that are in the countries enter therein. St. Luke, xxi. ver. 20 and 21.

Section VIII.

(*a*) Hist. i. s. 1.

Section XI.

(*a*) See Hist. v. s. 12. *Missis, per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleagarum manumque ejus obtruncarent.*

Section XVI.

(*a*) See the Appendix to Annals, xvi. s. 10.

(*b*) See Hist. v. s. 13; and note (*c*).

Section XVII.

(*a*) *Verily I say unto you, There shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.* St. Matthew, xxiv. ver. 2.

Section XIX.

(*a*) In the tribe of flatterers that gathered round the emperor, the most officious was Phebus, Nero's freedman, who hoped by adulation to expiate the insolence of his behaviour on a former occasion, when Vespasian had been guilty of the crime of falling asleep while Nero sung. Vespasian asked the freedman what he should do to appease Nero's indignation. "*Go, and hang yourself,*" replied Phebus. This man in confusion threw himself at the feet of the new prince: Vespasian, with a smile, repeated, "*Go, and hang yourself,*" and, content with that reproach, left the sycophant to himself.

Section XXI.

(*a*) Saleius Bassus, a poet of eminence, received a considerable present from Vespasian. See the Dialogue corncerning Oratory, s. 9.

(*b*) See Suetonius in Vespas. s. 3.

(*c*) The loves of Titus and Berenice, though not the best chosen subject for dramatic fable, became, in the last century, the favourite exhibition of the French stage. Corneille and Racine, the two great poets of that country, entered the lists, and, like the bards of Greece at the Olympic games, contended with each other for the laurel crown. It happened that a princess of France, sister to Louis XIV. requested a play on the subject of Titus and Berenice from the pen of Racine. The poet complied; and while he was at work, Corneille received the like solicitation from Henrietta of England, duchess of Orleans. The two plays were acted in 1670, at different theatres. That of Corneille had no success; Racine's had a run of thirty nights. Fontenelle observed upon the occasion, that it was a *combat* between two eminent men, and the youngest gained the victory.

Section XXII.

(*a*) Suetonius relates the fact, in Vesp.

(*b*) Tacitus says of Agricola, *Non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. Sciant, quibus moris est illicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse.* See the whole passage, Life of Agricola, s. 42.

Section XXIII.

(*a*) Tacitus mentions the escape of Julius Sabinus from the field of battle, where his countrymen, the Lingones, suffered a dreadful slaughter; and the historian promises, in proper time and place, to relate how he lay concealed in dens and caverns for nine years afterwards, supported, during the whole time, by the fidelity and unaltered affection of his wife Eponina. See Hist. iv. s. 67. The defeat of Sabinus was A. U. C. 823. He and his wife were put to death at Rome, A. U. C. 831; but unfortunately that part of our author's work has not survived the injury of time.

(*b*) For this fragment of history, see Plutarch's AMATORIUS, or The Lover.

(*c*) Tacitus says, *Quid si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis ævi spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque sævitiâ principis interciderunt?* See Life of Agricola, s. 3.

END OF NOTES ON THE APPENDIX.

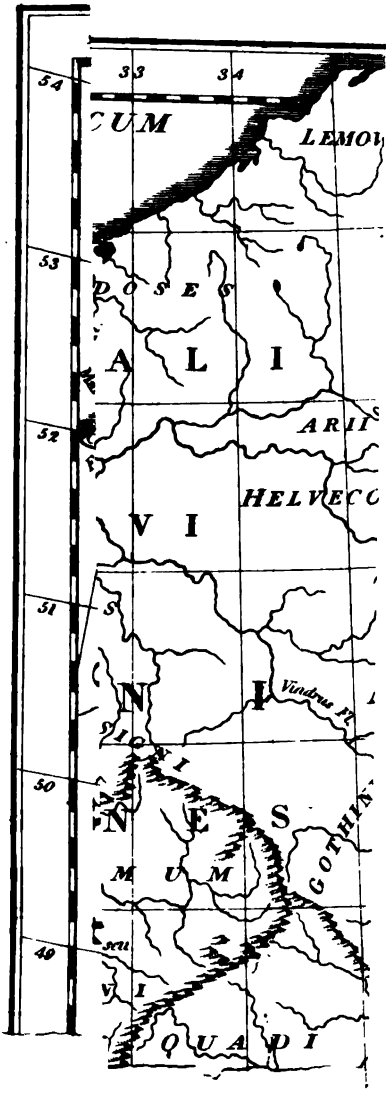
NOTES

ON

THE MANNERS

OF THE

GERMANS.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CUM
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S I O N I
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M U M
GOTHIN
Q U A D I

GERMANY,
Designed for the Works of
TACITUS,
By Robert de Vaugondy,
Royal Geographer,
and Fellow of the Royal Academy at Nanuz.
VENEDI
GOTHONES
Vistula Fl.
SARMATE
LYGII
MANIMI
NAHARUALI
OSI
ELYSII
Vistula Fl.
BURII
Viadrus Fl.
PEUCINI
seu
BASTARNE
52
51
50
49

NOTES

ON

THE MANNERS

OF THE

GERMANS.

THE time when the treatise on the German Manners was written, is fixed by Lipsius in the fourth consulship of Nerva, and the second of Trajan, A. U. C. 851, A. D. 98. A passage in section 37, where Tacitus mentions the second consulship of Trajan, clearly shows that the piece was composed in that year, or soon after. It is a draught of savage manners, delineated by a masterly hand; the more interesting, as the part of the world which it describes was the seminary of the modern European nations; the VAGINA GENTIUM, as historians have emphatically called it. The work is short, but, as Montesquieu observes, it is the work of a man who abridged every thing, because he knew every thing. It is for this reason that the following notes have swelled to a size, which may, at first sight, appear unwieldy: but the subject merits attention; it calls for something more than mere cursory observation. If the present writer has collected with diligence; if the brevity of the author be explained; if his facts receive full confirmation from the following illustrations; the inquiry will not be thought to be mere ostentation or vain parade A thorough

knowledge of the transactions of barbarous ages will throw more light than is generally imagined on the laws of modern times. Wherever the barbarians, who issued from their northern hive, settled in new habitations, they carried with them their native genius, their original manners, and the first rudiments of the political system which has prevailed in different parts of Europe. They established monarchy and liberty; subordination and freedom; the prerogative of the prince and the rights of the subject; all united in so bold a combination, that the fabric in some places stands to this hour the wonder of mankind. The British constitution, says Montesquieu, came out of the woods of Germany. What the state of this country was before the arrival of our Saxon ancestors, Tacitus has shown in the Life of Agricola. If we add to his account what has been transmitted to us concerning the Germans and Britons by Julius Cæsar, we shall see the origin of the Anglo-Saxon government, the great outline of that Gothic constitution, under which the people enjoy their rights and liberties at this hour. Montesquieu, speaking of his own country, declares it impossible to form an adequate notion of the French monarchy, and the changes of their government, without a previous inquiry into the manners, genius, and spirit of the German nations. Much of what was incorporated with the institutions of those fierce invaders, has flowed down in the stream of time, and still mingles with our modern jurisprudence. It is true, that in the progress of society, arts and sciences have diffused new lights, and the civil union being, by consequence, better understood, milder laws, and more polished manners have well-nigh effaced all traces of barbarism; but still it will not be unpleasant, nor indeed useless, to go back to those days of ignorance. We shall view the waters at their fountain-head dark, foul, and muddy; but by following them downward, we shall see them working themselves clear, and purified, at length to a clear and limpid current. We shall gain a knowledge of the origin of laws, while we read the history of the human mind. The subject, it is conceived, is interesting to every Briton. The following notes, are, therefore, offered without further apology for their

length. In the manners of the Germans the reader will see our present frame of government, as it were, in its cradle; *gentis cunabula nostræ!* The antiquarian, who has already made his researches, will, perhaps, find little novelty; but to those who have not had leisure or curiosity, the following annotations may open new veins of knowledge and reflection. They will lead to a better acquaintance with a fierce and warlike people, to whom this country owes that spirit of liberty, which through so many centuries has preserved our excellent form of government, and raised the glory of the British nation.

——— Genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altæ mœnia Romæ.

Section I.

(*a*) It is material in this place to observe, that Augustus Cæsar divided part of Belgic Gaul into two provinces, distinguished by the names of Upper and Lower Germany. Many of the new settlers in those parts were originally Germans, and, when the whole country was reduced under subjection to the Roman empire, the people, unwilling to pass for natives of Gaul, still retained their original name. Those two provinces called the Upper and Lower Germany, being, in fact, part of Gaul, are not comprised in the account given by Tacitus. He speaks of ancient Germany, called Germania Antiqua, or Barbara; of Germany on the eastern side of the Rhine, Germania Transrhenana; bounded, on the west by the Rhine; on the south by the Danube; on the east by the Vistula, or Weissel, and the mountains of Sarmatia; and finally by the Northern Ocean, including the Baltic, and the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland.

(*b*) Gaul, according to Cæsar, was divided into three parts, namely, 1. Belgic Gaul, bounded by the Seine, the Marne, the mountains of Vauge, the Rhine, and the Ocean. 2dly, Celtic Gaul, bounded by the Ocean, the Seine, the Marne, the Saone, the Rhone, and the Garonne. 3dly, Aquitania, bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees.

Rhætia was bounded towards the east by the Alps; by Italy towards the south; by the Rhine on the west; and by the country of the Vindelici towards the north. It is now the country of the Grisons.

Pannonia was an extensive country, having Dalmatia on the south, Illyricum on the west, Mæsia on the east, and the Danube on the north. And thus, as Tacitus says, Germany is divided from Gaul by the Rhine, and from Rhætia and Pannonia by the Danube.

(*c*) Dacia, in a short time after Tacitus wrote this treatise, was reduced by the emperor Trajan to a Roman province. It lay on the other side of the Danube, extending northward to the Carpathian mountains, comprising part of Upper Hungary, Transylvania, Walachia, and Moldavia.

Sarmatia was formerly divided into European and Asiatic. The European division is here intended by Tacitus. It had the Vistula, or Weissel, and a chain of mountains, for its western boundary, and extended to the northern parts of Europe, comprising Livonia, Lithuania, Russia, and Crim Tartary.

The mountains, which in part divided these nations from Germany, are now called the Carpathian mountains, running between Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania.

(*d*) The Baltic Sea was, probably, thought in the time of Tacitus to be the Northern Ocean. The deep gulfs were those of Bothnia and Finland. Sweden, Norway, and Finland, were anciently called Scandinavia, and supposed by the Romans to be a large island.

(*e*) Before the expeditions of Drusus and his son Germanicus, the Romans had not pierced far into Germany. Drusus, A. U. C. 744, advanced with his fleet as far as the promontory of the Cimbrians, who inhabited the country now called Jutland. Tacitus wrote his treatise about one hundred and eight years afterwards, and not less than eighty years after the war in Germany,

under the conduct of Germanicus. That commander carried his victorious arms into parts of the country unexplored before. It is probable that some further discoveries were made in the time of Domitian.

(*f*) The Rhætian Alps are now called the Mountains of the Grisons; that, in particular, from which the Rhine issues, is called Vogelberg. This celebrated river flows in one regular channel, embracing a few small islands in its course, till it reaches the island of the Batavians, where it divides itself into two branches, one washing the eastern side of Germany, and the other forming the boundary of Gaul. For a further account of this river, see *Annals*, ii. s. 6. See also this tract, s. 29, and note (*a*).

(*g*) The mountain Abnoba is called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Forest, la Forêt Noire. Brotier (to whose learned labours this work is greatly indebted) refers to the volumes of Count Marsili, who discovered the fountain-head of the Danube and the Rhine in 1702. Before that time Doneschingen was erroneously called the fountain-head of the Danube. That famous river, from its spring as far as Vienna, retained the name of the Danube, but according to Pliny, as soon as it reached ILLYRICUM, and thence to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the Euxine, or Black Sea, it was called the Ister. Brotier adds, that the Danube preserves its course through the Euxine into the Mediterranean, distinguished all the way by the clearness of the current; and the ships, he says, from the Ægean Sea (now the Archipelago) as far as the Propontic, (the Sea of Marmora,) can with difficulty make head against the force of so rapid a stream. For this fact he quotes the Letters of a Missioner of the Jesuits, published in 1713. Pliny the elder has left a similar account. He says, *Singula Istri ora tantum vinunt, ut prodatur in quadraginta millia passuum vinci mare, dulcemque intelligi haustum.* See Pliny, lib. iv. s. 24.

SECTION II.

(*a*) The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary

monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the soil. The world is now better informed. Asia is considered as the country where the numbers of mankind multiplied with rapid increase, and thence, overflowing into Scythia, peopled the northern regions of Europe. Under which of the sons of Noah that vast migration was formed, it is now fruitless to inquire. Antiquarians have amused themselves with systems founded on vain opinions, and, having no historical records, they have wandered in a maze of wild conjecture, without contributing to the stock of real knowledge.

(*b*) In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. The first migrations could not be made by sea in those early ages, when the use of shipping was little known. As soon as population increased in Asia, the redundant multitude went forth in quest of new settlements, and poured into Scythia, Sarmatia, Hungary, and Poland, and thence into Germany. When navigation began to be in some degree understood, colonies were transplanted by sea. It was by sea that Cecrops conveyed his people from Egypt into Greece, and it was in the same manner that the Phœnicians transported their colonies to the coast of Africa. But migrations must have been made before those events, and the northern parts of Europe were peopled long before.

(*c*) In the time of Tacitus, a voyage from Italy to the Northern Ocean would have been an enterprise too wild and daring. Drusus, the father of Germanicus, was the first Roman commander who ventured to explore those seas. *Oceanum septentrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit*, says Suetonius, Life of Claudius, s. 1; but it is not pretended that he sailed from Italy. His voyage, without doubt, began from some port of Gaul or Germany, and reached the point of Jutland. His son Germanicus, many years after, made the same attempt, but with great difficulty and danger. See *Annals*, ii. s. 23.

(*d*) This is by no means a satisfactory reason for the position advanced by Tacitus, namely, that the Germans were the indi-

genous offspring of the soil. In those remote ages, when the numbers of one nation overflowed into another, the object was not the most delightful country, but the safest habitation. Asia, Italy, and some parts of Africa, afforded delightful spots; but to men who could not find a settlement in those regions, even Germany, which appears so horrid to Tacitus, was not without its conveniences. The people escaped from oriental despotism, and lived in freedom. A freehold, says Addison, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased with the possession, and stout in the defence of it. Germany was the land of liberty and heroic fortitude. What men lost of their sensual gratifications, they gained in virtue: as Brotier expresses it, *Si quid decessit voluptati, accrevit humanitati.*

(*e*) Songs and rude poetry have been in all savage countries the memorials of public transactions. Kings and heroes were the poets and historians of the Scythian, the Celtic, and the northern nations. Saxo Grammaticus and other writers inform us, that they drew their materials from Runic songs, or Icelandic poetry. The Gauls had their druids, the priests and philosophers of the nation, who preserved their doctrine by oral tradition, and verses committed to memory only. The Germans had their BARDS, who in their songs recorded all public transactions, and sung the praises of their warriors and illustrious men. At all feasts and public assemblies the bards were the panegyrists of exalted merit. The same was the case in Britain, Wales, and Ireland. The songs of the bards were the prelude to battle; they inspired the chiefs with enthusiastic ardour. When Edward I. formed the plan of reducing Wales to subjection, he thought it necessary to destroy all the bards. The Scandinavians had their poets, or SCALDS, whose business it was to compose odes or songs, in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their ancestors. The praises which those poets gave to valour, the enthusiasm which animated their verses, and the care which the people took to learn them from their infancy, all conspired to rouse the martial spirit of their armies. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 223. The

American savages have their war-songs and rude poetry, in which they sing the praises of the gallant chiefs, who have fought or died for their country. Garcilasso de la Vega says, that, in writing his history of Peru, he availed himself of old songs and ballads, which a princess of the race of their *Incas* taught him to get by heart in his infancy. Tacitus tells us, that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude songs of his country. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Some of those songs, or brief chronicles of the times, were dug up in German monasteries in the beginning of the sixteenth century. CHARLEMAGNE, according to Eginhard, the historian of that warlike prince, composed verses in the rude style of that age, commemorating the wars and brave exploits of the German chiefs. He is said to have carried with him into France a large collection of those ancient ballads, which he ordered to be translated into Latin. But those records are now nowhere to be found.

(*f*) Various opinions have been advanced by antiquarians concerning the name of TUISTO. Some assert that it means the creator of the world; and that MANNUS, which is man with a Latin termination, relates to Adam. Others will have it, that TUISTO is the same as TEUTATES, a Scythian or Celtic king; and much learning has been laid out upon the subject. It is too often the fate of learned commentators to open a wide field for discussion, in which men of sober sense refuse to folow them. It is sufficient that Tuisto was the most ancient deity of the Germans and Scandinavians, long before the worship of Odin was established. See Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. chap. 6; and this Tract, s. 43, note (*f*).

(*g*) We have here, in three grand divisions, a general geographical description of Germany. The commentators inform us that they have found compound words in the German language, signifying, first, the inhabitants of the maritime parts; 2dly, inhabitants of the midland country; 3dly, inhabitants of the east; and those words correspond with the three appellations, which the Romans softened into their own idiom. There was anciently another divi-

sion of Germany, perhaps more satisfactory. 1. Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe, *inter Rhenum et Albim*, 2. Between the Elbe and the Weissel, *inter Albim et Vistulam;* 3. Southern Germany, *Germania Australis*, between the Rhine and the Danube. 4. Germany beyond the Weissel, *Germania Transvistulana.* 5. Germany beyond sea, and the islands of the Baltic; *Germania Transmarina et Insulæ.* Pliny the elder enumerates five German nations not materially different from the last description. He says, *Germanorum genera quinque.* 1. *Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.* 2. *Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes.* 3. *Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Cimbri Mediterranei. Herminones, quorum Suevi, Hermunduri, Catti, Cherusci.* 5. *Quinta pars, Peucini, Basternæ, Contermini Dacci.* Plin. lib. iv. s. 28, 14.

(*h*) The Gambrivians are mentioned by Tacitus in this place only.

(*i*) The Vandals are the same as the *Vindili* mentioned by Pliny; a brave and warlike race, who afterwards overran Gaul, Spain, and Italy, and were finally destroyed in Africa.

(*k*) Lipsius is of opinion that this passage will ever be the torment of the commentators. But the difficulty does not seem to be insurmountable. Tacitus says, that the first emigrants from the other side of the Rhine who entered Gaul, and dispossessed the natives, were in his time called Tungrians; but when they undertook their expedition, to strike their enemies with terror, *ob metum*, they called themselves GERMANS. The word, of course, implied something formidable, and, by adverting to the etymology, it receives the following construction. *Gehr*, or *Wehr*, signifies war. From that root the French have derived their word *guerre.* *Man* in the German tongue implied the same as it does now in that country and in England. Hence we find, that the first invaders, *ob metum*, to spread a general alarm, called themselves Germans, or *warlike men.* That such migrations were made into

Gaul is evident from Julius Cæsar. In the second book of his Gallic Wars, s. 4, he relates that, on inquiry, he found that the Belgians were for the most part Germans originally, who had been drawn by the fertility of the country to settle in those parts, and, during the irruption of the Teutones and Cimbri, were the only people, of all the provinces of Gaul, that resisted those fierce barbarians, and never suffered them to set foot in their territories. The name of GERMANS, assumed by those crossed over into Gaul, was in process of time adopted by all the nations on the east side of the Rhine, and in Cæsar's time was the established appellation of the whole country. The region which the Tungrians inhabited, *Brotier* says, was what the French call *L'ancien Diocèse de Tongres*, and it is remarkable that the same territory was occupied by the Franks, when, under the conduct of Pharamond, they made their irruption into France, and from that time gave their name to the whole country.

(*l*) Besides the fabulous Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, there was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boast of its own particular HERCULES. La Bletterie, the ingenious translator of a considerable part of Tacitus, mentions a learned antiquarian (Mons. Freret) who supposed, not without great probability, that some German chief of great renown in arms was called *Her-koul*, *Belli Caput*, the head of a victorious army. *Her-koul* would easily be changed by the Romans into HERCULES. However that may be, we find in Tacitus an entire forest beyond the *Visurgis*, or the *Weser*, sacred to Hercules. See Annals, ii. s. 12. The warriors rushing to battle, sung his praise, as we find that, in their ballads, they afterwards celebrated Arminius. See Annals, ii. s. 88. Several learned men have clearly proved that the word HERCULES was a name given to all the leaders of colonies, who came out of Asia to settle in Greece, Italy, and Spain. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91.

SECTION III.

(*a*) The commentators are much at variance about the reading

of the original word to express the recitation of the German poets. Some of them contend for *barritus*, instead of *barditus;* for *barrire*, they say, signifies the cry or roar of an elephant. Horace uses the word *barrus* for an elephant. *Mulier nigris dignissima barris;* Epod. 12. But Lipsius observes, that elephants were not known in Germany. This dispute about a word seems to be, as is usually the case, of little or no importance, since it is evident that the poets of Germany and Britain were called BARDS, and therefore *barditus* is, probably, the true reading. Lucan, book i. ver. 447, describes the office of the *bard*, and gives him that very name:

> Vos quoque, qui fortes animas, belloque peremptas
> Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
> Plurima securi fudistis carmina BARDI.

The strains of verse which the bards poured forth in their fits of enthusiasm, inflamed the German and the British warriors with heroic fortitude. Perhaps nothing contributed more to make those nations stand at bay for such a length of time with the whole power of the Romans. The soldier said to the bard, "Come, and see me fighting for my country; see me bleed, if the "fate of war will have it so; and if I die, be sure to record my "memory." This was the ambition of the northern nations. Lipsius observes, that it was the same with the first inhabitants of Spain, and for his purpose cites the following passage:

> ——————— ritu jam moris Iberi
> Carmina pulsatâ fundentem barbara cetrâ.

The war-song of the Canadians, and the northern savages of America, has been mentioned in the books of all travellers in that part of the world. Charlevoix has given a full account of this wild preparation for battle, and Dr. Robertson has quoted the very words of an Indian war-song: "I go to revenge the death "of my brothers; I shall kill, I shall exterminate, I shall burn "my enemies; I shall bring away slaves; I shall devour their

"heart, dry their flesh, and drink their blood; I shall tear off "their scalps, and make cups of their skulls." The terms of a German war-song have not reached posterity. The collection by Charlemagne is totally lost. In those pieces we should, undoubtedly, have seen strong marks of ferocity; but the spirit of revenge that could eat the flesh of prisoners taken in battle, was unknown in Germany. The Scandinavians, when they were going to join battle, raised great shouts, clashed their arms together, invoked the name of ODIN, and sung hymns in his praise. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 237.

(*b*) Doctor Aikin has selected a passage from the Life of Sir Ewen Cameron, which happily illustrates the ancient German opinion concerning the prophetic spirit of the war-song. At the battle of Killicrankie, just before the fight began, Sir Ewen commanded such of the Camerons as were posted near him to make a great shout, which being seconded by those who stood on the right and left, ran quickly through the whole army, and was returned by the enemy. But the noise of the muskets and cannon, with the echoing of the hills, made the Highlanders fancy that their shouts were louder and brisker than those of the enemy; and Lochiel cried out: "Gentlemen, take courage, the day is "ours: I am the oldest commander in the army, and have always "observed something ominous and fatal in such a dull, hollow, "and feeble noise as the enemy made in their shout; which "prognosticates, that they are all doomed to die by our hands "this night; whereas ours was brisk, lively, and strong, and "shows that we have vigour and courage." The event justified the prediction; the Highlanders obtained a complete victory.

(*c*) The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses wander in every sea. Tacitus mentions it as a romantic tale, but Strabo seems willing to countenance the fiction, and, for that purpose, gravely tells us that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyssey, in Spain. Lipsius observes, that Lisbon,

in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyssipo*, or *Olisipo*. He adds, that another learned antiquarian, from an altar-piece which was found in Caledonia, with an inscription in Greek letters, inferred that Ulysses, in the course of his voyages, landed on the coast of Scotland. To explode these idle reveries, Lipsius pleasantly says, at this rate, what should hinder us inhabitants of the Low Countries from asserting that Ulysses built the city of *Ulyssinga* in the province of Zealand, and that *Circè* founded that of *Circzea* or *Ziriczée*?

(*d*) Inscriptions on stone, marble, or brass, though cut in Greek characters, are a bad support of the systems advanced by theoretical writers. Tacitus has shown, *Annals*, xi. s. 14, that the use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phœnicians into Greece, and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Marseilles. Cæsar relates, b. i. s. 21, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. s. 13, he expressly says that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marsili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions. The communication that subsisted between the druids of Gaul and those of Britain, would easily convey the art of writing into this island.

SECTION IV.

(*a*) This wonderful similitude throughout the whole race has been remarked by various authors. Juvenal has mentioned their yellow hair, their blue eyes, and other circumstances that made the whole nation appear to be one family.

> Cærula quis stupuit Germani Lumina? flavam
> Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
> Nempe quod hæc illis natura est omnibus una.
>
> 13th Sat. v. 164.

Sidonius Apollinaris says, that, being in Germany, and finding the men so very tall, he could not address verses of six feet to patrons who were seven feet high.

> Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,
> Ex quo septipedes vidit patronos.

Section V.

(*a*) Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the east by Pannonia, on the south by a range of the Alps, and on the west by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of Austria and Bavaria.

(*b*) The Germans attended to nothing but the production of corn. Their country, like Canada, was covered over with immense tracts of forest, and, till the ground was cleared, and the cold, by consequence, abated of its rigour, cultivation could not be carried on with any kind of advantage.

(*c*) Notwithstanding what is here said, we find, *Annals*, xi. s. 20, that Curtius Rufus opened a silver mine in the territory of the Mattiaci, now subject to the landgrave of Hesse; but it was soon exhausted.

(*d*) The Romans began to coin silver A. U. C. 485. Their gold coin began in the year 587. On all their money, Victory was seen in a triumphal car, driving sometimes two horses, and sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati* or *quadrigati*. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 3. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *serra*, and, for that reason, called *serrati*. Brotier says, he has seen several pieces of this old coin in the college-library of Lewis the Fourteenth. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money-dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented. The antiqua-

rians have employed much learning on this subject; but the above short account (suggested by Brotier and La Bletterie) seems to be the true solution of the difficulty.

(*e*) It is remarkable that the Romans always exacted from the conquered nations a tribute of silver. Pliny the elder wonders at the fact, and adds that, when Hannibal was overthrown, and Carthage reduced to subjection, the Romans demanded an annual tribute of silver for the term of fifty years; but they made no mention of gold. See Pliny, book xxxiii. s. 13 and 15.

Section VI.

(*a*) Abundance of iron was to be found in the bowels of the earth; but to extract it, to soften it by fire, and render it pliant and malleable, required more skill and patience than consisted with the rough genius of a savage race. Accordingly swords and javelins were not much in use. A spear tipt with iron, in their language called, as Brotier informs us, *friem*, or *priem*, was their weapon in almost all the battles recorded by Tacitus. From the word *friem* the Roman writer easily made the term *framea*, more consonant to the *idiom* of the Latin language. It appears in the *Annals*, book ii. s. 14, that those instruments of war were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were prefixed to their weapons, and many of these, Brotier says, have been discovered in German sepulchres. The *fram* of King Childeric was found in opening his monument.

(*b*) The only covering of a German was a short mantle. Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, *Annals*, ii. s. 14, were not made of iron, but of ozier twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The war-

like chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families; and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis;* the second of leather, called *galea.* It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, describes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high-plumed crests. He also mentions their iron breast-plates. But this warlike apparatus was, most probably, acquired during their march into Italy. Vegetius wonders by what fatality it happened, that the Romans, after having experienced the advantage of their armour during a space of twelve hundred years, from the foundation of Rome to the reign of Gratian, should at length abandon their ancient discipline, and, by laying aside their breast-plates and their helmets, put themselves on a level with the barbarians, who insulted them in every quarter. By this alteration they left themselves and the empire obnoxious to their enemies. See Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 11. s. 12.

(*c*) The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182. The reader who desires to know the skill with which the Romans vaulted on their horses and leaped off again, will find it at large in Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 18.

(*d*) The German manner of intermixing the foot soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot, each his man, all remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the

relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion. Cæsar *de Bell. Gall.* lib. 1. s. 48.

(*e*) Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. So the Suevians were divided, according to Cæsar, book iv. s. 1. The Swiss at this day are divided into cantons. The division into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon ancestors. The hundreders in this country were a civil establishment; whereas in Germany they were a military institution, being so many select men, whose duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

(*f*) The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy. The practice was universally in use among the Germans, and, accordingly, in the History of Tacitus, b. iv. s. 16, we find Civilis drawing up the Frisians, the Caninefates, and his own countrymen the Batavians, in three different wedges. Whoever has a mind to read more on this subject, will find a dissertation in the *Memoires of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to edit. vol. xxv. p. 440.

(*g*) To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was the most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence. *Si quis ingenuus homo alio, improperaverit, quod*

scutum suum jactasset, et in fuga lapsus fuisset, et non potuerit adprobare, D. C. den. culpabilis judicetur. See the Salic Laws, tit. xxxiii. cap. 5.

Section VII.

(*a*) The text in this place seems perfectly clear, though various writers, fond of a particular hypothesis, have endeavoured to perplex it. Some of those ingenious authors contend, that the kings in Germany were hereditary, and the general officers elective. But Tacitus says, *sumunt*, they take or choose, and he applies the word to kings as well as commanders in chief. Hence it may be fairly inferred, that in the election of kings they had regard to the nobility of an ancient race; but still they chose them. They chose, perhaps, out of certain families, and gave the preference to the issue of the deceased king: but it does not appear that they were bound by any law of inheritance. In Cæsar's account of the Germans there are some passages that seem to clash with Tacitus, or at least to create a difficulty. Germany, however, was new to Cæsar: he did not penetrate far into the country; and though a mind like his would take a wide survey of his subject, it can not be supposed that, with all his accuracy, he gained complete information. He tells us, the Germans make choice of a chief to conduct their wars, and arm him with power of life and death: but in time of peace there is no public magistrate, all decisions being made by the leading men in their several districts. *Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit, aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello præsint, et vitæ necisque habeant potestatem, diliguntur. In pace nullus est communis magistratus, sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos jus dicunt, controversiasque minuunt.* Book vi. s. 22. This may seem to imply that there was no king to rule over them. But this could not be Cæsar's meaning: he was well acquainted with Ariovistus, the German king, who made an irruption into Gaul. We shall see in the sequel of this tract, that, in some places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary: in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be distinguished by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their auspices; if not,

they chose a commander famous for his martial spirit. We read in Tacitus (*History* iv. s. 15.) the manner of choosing a general: he was placed on a shield, and carried on the shoulders of the men, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory du Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were chosen in the same manner. His words are, *Plaudentes tam parmis quam vocibus* CLODOVECHUM *clypeo evectum super se regem constituunt*. Lib. ii. s. 40. The celebrated Abbé Vertot, in his Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preside in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had so much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he says, after the example of their German ancestors, reserved the right of choosing their general, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occasionally they chose their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himself the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander in chief. Under Clotaire, the second king of the western part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was suppressed, but soon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to choose their commanders in chief, and that extraordinary power was exercised in a manner wholly independent of the sovereign, and often dangerous to his title. See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, 4to edit. vol. ii. p. 627. It will not be improper to insert here the substance of Montesquieu's opinion on this subject:—A government, under which a nation, who had a king on the throne, elected an officer invested with all the powers of royalty, must be thought an extraordinary phænomenon in politics: but, upon inquiry, it will be found that the Franks, who established the French monarchy, derived their notions of government from an ancient source. They were descended from the Germans, who in the choice of a king were determined by his nobility, and in that of their leader by his valour. Here we behold the kings of the first race, and the mayors of the palace. No doubt but some of the princes, who, with a martial spirit,

offered to conduct a warlike enterprise, were accepted by the voice of the people, and, being thus confirmed, they exercised both the royal and military power. But those two branches of authority were often separated. In order thoroughly to understand the genius of the Franks, we need only to recollect the conduct of Arbogastes, a Frank by nation, to whom Valentinian committed the command of his army. He confined the prince in his own palace, and suffered no man to confer with him on the subject of affairs civil or military. *Spirit of Laws*, book xxxi. chap. 4. The savage tribes of America often afford a striking resemblance of German manners; and accordingly we read in Charlevoix, The army has often at its head the chief of the nation or town: but he must first have distinguished himself by some signal action of bravery; if not, he is obliged to serve as a subaltern. See his *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(*b*) Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. *Sua esse ejusmodi imperia, ut non minus haberet juris in se multitudo, quam ipse in multitudinem. De Bell. Gall.* lib. v. s. 27. We read in Vertot, that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general, wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle-axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right. *Nihil hinc accipies, nisi quæ tibi sors vera largitur.* See Vertot's Dissertation, *Memoires de l' Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. p. 627. See also Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 254. The same spirit of independence prevails among the North-American savages. See Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, letter xviii.

(*c*) The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. La Bletterie observes, that in modern times the stroke of justice, committed always to the base and profligate, is well-nigh rendered odious. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion, that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

(*d*) The figures of savage animals were deemed religious symbols; See Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 12. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves, *Annals*, b. i. s. 59. These they carried with them to their wars. In like manner the Canadians have symbolic figures of their gods, which they call their *Manitous*. They take care, when going to battle, to carry with them those objects of superstition, and would as soon forget their arms. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(*e*) The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives and children surveyed the field of battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. See *History*, b. iv. s. 18. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured the soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar, b. i. s. 51. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the decisive action in the same manner. *Annals*, b. xiv. s. 34. Galgacus, in his speech before the last battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their side, whereas the Romans had no such pledges to excite their valour. *Life of Agricola*, s. 32. The manners of ancient chivalry

seem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to disarm the knight returning from his adventures; they praised his valour, and dressed his wounds. See a dissertation on this subject, *Memoires de l' Acad. des Belles Lettres*, vol. xx.

Section VIII.

(*a*) We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and wagons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their wagons. Florus, book iii. ch. 3. See also Valerius Maximus, book vi. ch. 1. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages. Sueton. *Life of Augustus*, s. 21.

(*b*) Plutarch, in his Treatise on the virtues of the Female Sex, relates, that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women

to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar inquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to action before the new moon. Cæsar, book i. s. 50. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched barefooted in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their gray hairs, and milk-white linen robes. Strabo, book vii. Tacitus in his History observes, that most of the German women were considered as prophetesses, and, in particular, that *Veleda* was worshipped as a goddess. *Hist.* book iv. s. 61 and 65. La Bletterie observes, that, till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an island on the coast of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle where nine virgins attended as priestesses, and issued the responses. Besides their prescience of futurity, they had the power to imprison the winds, or by their incantations to raise storms and tempests. Pomp. Mela, book iii. c. 6. The influence of the Canadian women may be seen in Charlevoix. He says, to take up the hatchet, is to declare war; and nothing can be said against it, unless it be among the *Hurons* and *Iroquois*, where the matrons command or prohibit a war, as seems good unto them. Charlevoix, letter xiii.

(c) Veleda was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of Civilis the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. Cerealis, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of Veleda, and her influence on the German mind. We see him, for that reason, in the History of Tacitus, b. v. s. 24, endeavouring to draw her over to his in-

terest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Statius, that she was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence Tacitus says, *vidimus Veledam*, *we saw Veleda*. Statius, after being, in his congratulatory style, lavish of his compliments to his friend Rutilius Gallicus, for his great success in Asia and Africa, touches at last on his victorious arms in Germany, and the captivity of Veleda,

> Non vacat Arctoas acies, Rhenumque rebellem,
> CAPTIVÆQUE PRECES VELEDÆ, et (quæ maxima nuper
> Gloria) depositam Dacis pereuntibus urbem
> Pandere. STATIUS SILV. lib. i. poem. iv. v. 89.

SECTION IX.

(*a*) This passage has afforded a large field of discussion, in which various writers have expatiated, as fancy, or the love of an hypothesis, happened to dictate. Cæsar tells us, that the Germans have no druids to preside in religious affairs; nor do they trouble themselves about sacrifices. They acknowledge no gods but those that are objects of sight, and by whose power they are apparently benefited; the sun, the moon, fire. Of other gods they knew nothing, not even by report. *De Bell. Gall.* b. vi. s. 20. On the other hand, the same author informs us, that the Gauls worshipped Mercury as the inventor of all useful arts, and the tutelary patron of commerce; and also Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Book vi. s. 16. But if it be true, according to the same eminent writer, that the Gauls in ancient times exceeded the Germans in bravery, and often passed over the Rhine to wage war in that country, it can not be supposed that the Germans never heard of other gods. Mars, we find, was worshipped by the Gauls; but as he was a Scythian god, as Virgil has it, *Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis*, it is highly improbable that a people who were of Scythian origin, should not have heard of the God of War. It is to be regretted that Cæsar did not give us the Celtic names of the several deities worshipped in Gaul,

and also the names in use among the Germans. Harsh as those terms might be, a Latin termination would have softened them into a milder sound. Thus we have *man* and *herth* changed by Tacitus into MANNUS and HERTHUM. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis* (an author, whose elaborate work has been lately put into the present writer's hands by his excellent and learned friend Dr. Charles Burney,) expressly says, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS. For his authority he cites Lactantius, book i. c. 21, who observes, that the Gauls propitiated those gods by human sacrifices. *Hesum et Teutaten humano cruore placabant.* Lucan speaks to the same purpose:

> Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro
> TEUTATES, horrensque feris altaribus HESUS.
>
> LUCAN, lib. i. v. 444.

> And you, where HESUS' horrid altar stands,
> And dire TEUTATES human blood demands.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN.

In some resemblance of the attributes ascribed to HESUS and TEUTATES, the Greeks and Romans saw Mars and Mercury, and thence inferred that their own modes of worship extended to barbarous nations. But the natural religion of rude illiterate ages owed its birth to the passions and superstitious fears of an ignorant multitude.

> ———— tantum terroribus addit
> Quos timeant, non nosse Deos.
>
> The zealous crowds in ignorance adore,
> And still, the less they know, they fear the more.
>
> ROWE'S LUCAN, book iii.

The idea of one God, the governing mind of the universe, was unknown to the Pagan world. The most savage nations had a notion of an invisible power; but being left to their own uninstructed fancy, polytheism was the consequence. They analyzed the Deity, decompounded his essence, personified his attributes,

and made new gods for every thing that they wished or feared. All had a sense of a superior Being; but not being able to ascribe omnipotence to one God, they multiplied the number, and distributed the administration of the universe among various deities, assigning to each his separate province, his distinct attributes, and peculiar character. The theology of Greece and Rome sprung out of the wants, the fears, and passions of a savage race, and, in process of time, those nations adorned and polished the rude invention of their ancestors. Their genius gave the graces of poetry to every fiction, and their mythology was rendered elegant. Other nations, who made no advances in science, formed their system of polytheism in the same manner, and, as was natural, deified the same attributes. And thus, as Hume observes in his *History of Natural Religion*, "The Greek and "Roman travellers and conquerors, without much difficulty, "found their own deities every where, and said, This is MERCURY, that VENUS; this is MARS, that NEPTUNE; by whatever "title the strange gods might be denominated. The goddess "HERTHA, of our Saxon ancestors, seems to be no other, according to Tacitus, than the MATER TELLUS of the Romans." According to this doctrine, we see in the tract on the *German Manners*, s. 43, that under the name of *Alcis*, Tacitus found that the people worshipped CASTOR and POLLUX. In this sense the Roman historians are to be understood, when they tell us, that savage nations worshipped Mars, and Venus, and Minerva. Under barbarous appellations they worshipped invisible powers, to whom they gave distinct functions, as the Romans did in their own religious system. It is therefore to be wished that Cæsar had collected the names ascribed by the Germans to their gods. In that case the seeming variance between him and Tacitus would, most probably, vanish. But Cæsar was engaged in an important war with Ariovistus, and he did not pierce far into Germany. See s. 43, note (*f*).

(*b*) Human victims were offered to Mercury (or HESUS) as the chief of the German gods, and, according to the text, certain

animals were sacrificed to Mars and Hercules. There is, however, reason to think that Mercury was a principal deity, since we find, in a quarrel between the Cattians and Hermundurians, that both armies devoted the vanquished, their men, and horses, and whatever was taken, as a sacrifice to Mars and Mercury. *Annals*, b. xiii. s. 57. In the *History*, b. iv. s. 64, Mars is called the principal deity. The Germans were of Scythian origin; and, of course, retained much of the manners of their ancestors. See Herodotus, book iv. The Celtic nations offered human victims to their gods, and, accordingly, Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. In threatening distempers or imminent dangers, they made no scruple to sacrifice human victims, and made use of the ministry of their druids for that purpose. They put the victims alive into a colossus of osier twigs, and all within expired in the flames. Convicts for theft, robbery, or other crimes, were thought most acceptable to the gods, and, when real criminals were not to be found, the innocent were made to suffer. Cæsar, book vi. s. 15. Pliny informs us, that men were sacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome 657, when a decree was passed, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus, forbidding the practice of human sacrifices. And thus, says Pliny, the world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies, in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, lib. 28, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a Greek man and woman buried alive at Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the Christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion. After that fact, he says, let men boast of his reason, and with presumption say, that he stood in no need of revelation.

(c) A Liburnian galley was the name given by the Romans to a ship built after the model which they borrowed from the Liburnians, a people of Dalmatia. The service performed by those galleys in the battle of Actium is well known. Horace addresses an ode to Mæcenas, when he was setting out with Augustus on that expedition:

> Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
> Amice, propugnaculis.
>
> HORACE, book v. ode 1.

How Isis came to be worshipped by the Suevians in the form of a ship may be accounted for. That goddess was deemed the inventress of navigation. The superstition and religious ceremonies of the Egyptians were diffused over Asia, Greece, and the rest of Europe. Brotier says, that inscriptions to Isis and Serapis have been frequently found in Germany. But whether a Liburnian galley ever arrived in the Baltic, and whether the Suevians heard of Isis, the Egyptian goddess, may be made a question. The Germans thought, like the rest of the Pagan world, that some præternatural power presided over every thing useful in human life. Imagination created a goddess of Navigation, and, as the human form was never assigned to the German deities, they worshipped the tutelar saint of the sea-faring life under the symbol of a ship. This was sufficient foundation for saying that the Egyptian Isis was adored in Germany. See two dissertations on this subject, *Memoires de l' Academie des Belles Lettres*, vol. v. p. 63.

(d) It may be assumed as a fact, that the Germans, at the time when Tacitus wrote his Treatise, had no representation of their gods in the human shape. Statuaries and artists did not fix their residence in those regions. It is certain, however, that in process of time images and statues abounded in Germany. The missioners, who went in the eighth and ninth centuries to propagate the Christian religion in those parts, saw many images and statues of their gods. That mode of idolatry was, however, far

from being established. The people persisted, for a long time, to observe the institutions of their ancestors, till the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images should be admitted into churches, to serve as books for the vulgar and ignorant. It is true that Tacitus, *Annals*, i. s. 51, mentions the temple of TANFAN; but it does not appear that any images or statues of the gods were there immured.

(*e*) Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, ii. s. 12, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of BARDUHENNA occurs, *Annals*, iv. s. 73; and in the *History*, iv. s. 14, Tacitus describes a sacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Forest, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy desert by superstition, was converted into a place for the sports and pleasures of man, where he might pursue the chace, and hew the venerable oaks as his occasions required:

> Ut procul Hercyniæ pervasta silentia sylvæ
> Venari tuto liceat, lucosque vetustâ
> Religione truces, et robora, numinis instar
> Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.
>
> CLAUDIAN, lib. i.

Lucan's description of a sacred grove near Marseilles, in the third book of the Pharsalia, is well known to the classic scholar. The rites of a barbarous worship, and the impression made on the mind by the gloom of a thick forest, are there displayed with a masterly hand; but, perhaps, Seneca has given the philosophical and true reason. He says, if you enter a dark wood, where high embowering trees exclude the light of the sun, the prodigious growth and lofty majesty of the wood, the solitude of the place, and the deep impenetrable gloom, all conspire to impress an awful stillness, and to fill the mind with ideas of the invisible power of a superior Being. *Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus, et solitam altitudinem egressis, frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum submovens; illa proceritas silvæ, et secretum loci, et*

admiratio umbræ fidem tibi numinis facit. Seneca, epist. 41. The younger Pliny (epist. 12.) says more concisely, We adore the gloom of woods, and the silence that reigns around us. *Lucos, atque in iis silentia ipsa adoramus.* The same effect in a Gothic church is finely described in Congreve's Mourning Bride:

> No, all is hush'd, and still as death:—tis dreadful!
> How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
> To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made steadfast and immoveable,
> Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
> And terror on my aching sight.

Section X.

(*a*) The Scythians, according to Herodotus, book iv. had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, book xiv. who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune. La Bletterie says, the law of the Frisians shows that the people, even after they were converted to Christianity, still retained this form of divination. The words of the law are, *Tali de virgâ præcisi, quos* TENOS *vocant; Teene* in German, or *Tan* in Anglo Saxon, signifying pieces of the young branch of a tree. See the explanation of TANFAN, *Annals*, b. i. s. 51, note (*a*).

(*b*) Cæsar says, b. i. s. 50, that, among the Gauls, the matrons of the family presided to decide by lots and divination. The case, undoubtedly, was the same in Germany.

(*c*) Instances of this superstition are recorded among the Persians. Darius was elected king by the neighing of a horse. Herodotus, b. iii. The same author, b. i. mentions a number of white horses, considered as sacred by Cyrus and his army. Justin relates the election of Darius in the following manner.

The competitors for the regal diadem agreed, that, on a stated day, the horses of the several candidates should be drawn out before the palace, and he, whose horse was first heard neighing, should be chosen king. The reason of this ceremony was the persuasion of the Persians, who believed the son to be the only god, and that all horses were consecrated to him. Justin, b. i. s. 10. In the isle of Rugen a priest took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, b. xiv.

(*d*) Montesquieu observes, that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and *compurgators* were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword. Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm could not be expected to enter the lists, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is stated on good authority by the late Judge Blackstone. That elegant writer had the merit of converting the thorny study of the law into a branch of polite literature. In his hands, *feret et rubus asper amomum*. By him we are told, that the last trial by battle, that was joined in a civil suit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witness of the ceremony. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 338. In Rushworth's Collection, ann. 1631; 7th Car. I. there is a long account of the proceeding preparatory to a trial by battle in the court of chivalry; but his majesty, in the end, revoked his letters patent, not being willing to have the cause decided by duel. This remnant of German manners, though fallen into disuse,

is not entirely abolished at this day. Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 341. See Dr. Robertson's *Charles V.* vol. i. p. 59.

SECTION XI.

(*a*) Montesquieu is of opinion, that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xi. ch. 6. The Saxon WITENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an improved political institution, grafted on the rights exercised by the people in their own country. *Annals*, b. iv. s. 33, note (*a*). The author of the European Settlements in America says, "The Indians meet in a house, which they have in each of their towns for the purpose, upon every solemn occasion, to receive ambassadors, to deliver them an answer, to sing their traditionary war-songs, or to commemorate the dead. These councils are public. Here they propose all such matters as concern the state, which have already been digested in the secret councils, at which none but the head men assist." *European Settlements*, vol. i. p. 177.

(*b*) The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, book i. s. 50, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon. The commentator on the passage in Cæsar adds, that by a law of Lycurgus the Spartan army was not to take the field before the full moon; and Vespasian, to take advantage of religious prejudices, attacked the Jews on the Sabbath day. See in the *Annals*, b. i. s. 28, a panic in the army, occasioned by an eclipse of the moon. The elder Pliny, b. ii. s. 99, sets forth the extravagant powers attributed to the same planet. In this enlightened age some traces of the same superstition still remain.

(*c*) The Gauls, we find in Cæsar, b. vi. s. 17. computed the time by nights, not by days. Vestiges of this custom still re-

main in Germany and in Britain. We say *se'nnight* and *fortnight;* last Monday *se'nnight*, this day *fortnight*. By the Salic law, *title* 49, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights instead of days. Chambers, in his Dictionary, tells us, that in a council held in this island, ann. 824, a cause was heard after thirty nights: *finita contentione coram episcopo; post triginta noctes illud juramentum ad Westminster deductum est.*

(*d*) In the excellent translation of Monsieur Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, we see the same custom observed by the Danes. They still show the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. "These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them "from the ravages of time, are vast unhewn stones, twelve in "number, set upright and placed in the form of a circle. In "the middle is a stone much larger than the rest, on which "they made a seat for their king. The other stones served as "a barrier to keep off the populace. The principal chiefs "mounted on those stones, and with a loud voice delivered "their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood in crowds about "them, signified their approbation or assent by clashing their "shields together in a kind of cadence, or by raising certain "shouts." Stonehenge is said to be a monument of the same custom. See Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, p. 95. Brotier sees in those conventions the origin of the assemblies, called under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs de Mars*, the Fields of March; under the Carlovingian, *Les Champs de Mai*, the Fields of May; and finally, *Les Etats Generaux*, the States General. In Tacitus, *Hist.* b. iv. s. 15, Civilis is applauded by the clangour of arms; and Veroingetorix, after haranguing the soldiers, receives the approbation of the army, signified by striking their lances against their swords. Cæsar, b. vii. s. 21.

(*e*) From this it is evident that all the states of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magistrate. The word *civitas* does not mean a city, but a state, a people, a body politic. In those states, where all important matters were discussed by the people in their collective body, no wonder that the man who possessed the powers of persuasion should be the leading demagogue. The oratory of the savage was unpolished, but it was animated by the emotions of the heart; and the heart is the source of forcible and commanding eloquence. Charlevoix seems never better pleased than when he talks of the pathos and energy of his American orators; and the author of the European Settlements in America, says, "Their orators are employed in all the public councils, and there display those talents which distinguished them for eloquence and knowledge of public business; in both of which some of them are admirable. The chief skill of the orators consists in giving an artful turn to affairs, and in expressing their thoughts in a bold and figurative manner, much stronger than we could bear in this part of the world, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. *European Settlements*, vol. 1. p. 178.

Section XII.

(*a*) The Salic law imposed a pecuniary penalty on such as took down a convict still alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was suspended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permission from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

(*b*) The cowards here intended were, most probably, those who offered to attend a chief to the wars as his faithful followers, and afterwards deserted. Men of that description were accounted infamous. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman, who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital

crime, and suffered as a traitor. Among the Canadians, the man who attaches himself to a leader; and, having sung the war-song, refuses to perform his engagement, is never safe from the indignation of his countrymen; at least, he is disgraced for ever. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

(c) The Germans distinguished the crimes which were prejudicial to the state, such as treason and desertion, from cowardice, which they ranked with those unnatural passions that ought never to be heard of in society. The enemy of his country was punished as a public example. Private vices, in themselves base and flagitious, were considered as disgraceful to the guilty, not as an extensive mischief, and therefore swept away from the notice and the memory of man. Ignominious offenders were suffocated in mud, and their bodies were concealed from sight, to be forgotten as soon as possible. This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long, that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud. *Si qua mulier, maritum suum, cui legitime juncta est, dimiserit, necetur in luto. Burgundian Laws*, tit. xxxiv. This practice of the Germans calls to mind the punishment for parricide among the ancient Romans. The person convicted of that crime was hooded, as unworthy of the common light; sewed up alive in a sack, with an ape, a dog, and a cock; and, in that condition, thrown into the sea, or into the next lake or river. Cicero has described this mode of punishment. The parricide, he says, was sewed in a sack, that he who murdered the author of his being, should no longer enjoy the elements, by which all things are formed. The law would not condemn him to be devoured by wild beasts, lest the nature of the animals should be rendered still more ferocious; nor was it deemed proper to throw him naked into the next river, lest, when wafted into the sea, his body should pollute the waves, that purified all things from infection. In this manner the criminal was suffered to live, as long as possible, without the open air; and he was left to die in such a way, that his bones never touched

the earth. *Insui voluerunt in culeum vivos, atque ita in flumen dejici; ut qui eum necasset unde ipse natus esset, careret iis rebus omnibus, ex quibus omnia nata esse dicuntur. Noluerunt feris corpus objicere, ne bestiis quoque, quæ tantum scelus attigissent, immanioribus uteremur; non sic nudos in flumen dejicere, ne, cum delati essent in mare, ipsum polluerent, quo cætera, quæ violata sunt, expiari putantur. Ita vivunt, dum possunt, ut ducere animam de cælo non queant; ita moriuntur, ut eorum ossa terra non tangat.* See the whole passage, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino.*

(*d*) In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries were included. See this Tract, s. 21. The laws, which the Germans establish in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and overran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. A race of barbarians, issuing from their woods and marshes, and bearing down all before them, would naturally bring with them their primitive ideas, and transfuse them into all the laws established in the conquered country. Whoever will be at the pains of examining their code of laws, will soon perceive, that in their various fines for offences committed, they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured. Brotier, in his note on this passage, has given a variety of instances with his usual accuracy. The whole would draw this note into too great a length. A few examples will be sufficient. For stealing a sucking calf, a fine, besides the real value, and the expense of the suit, was imposed by the Salic law, *De Furtis Animalium*, tit. iii. For stealing a bull the fine was greater, and for the king's bull still more. For a dog of the chase, a considerable sum. Knives were of great value with a people unskilled in the mechanic arts. By the Salic law, he who stole a knife, was obliged to make restitution, and to pay a penalty. Horses were almost inestimable among the Saxons, and, accordingly, by their law, *De Furtis*, tit. iv. horse-stealing was made a capital crime; a circumstance

the more singular, as a composition was allowed for homicide. By the Salic law, theft had its different shades of guilt; such as stealing from the outside of the house, from the inside, and if the offender entered by a counterfeit key, the penalty increased. If he broke in, and then fled and stole nothing, he was fined for the damage done by the forcible entry. The bare attempt to commit a crime was in some instances punished. If a man intending to give a mortal wound, missed his blow, the Salic law fined him for the malice expressed. For fracturing a skull, the penalty was considerable, and still greater if the bone exfoliated, and the brain was laid open. By the Salic and Ripuarian laws, homicide had different degrees of guilt, and the composition varied accordingly. For killing a barbarian the fine was moderate; for killing a man, and concealing the body, the punishment was higher and still increased, if the person slain was sunk in a well, or thrown into a pond. The ranks of men were also taken into consideration. If a freeman killed a freeman, if a Ripuarian killed a Frank, or a Burgundian, he paid the sums established by the law; but the value of a Roman was fixed at a lower rate. Many more examples might be added; but these short hints will serve to show from what source the German emigrants derived their notion of crimes and punishments. The fine in Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country; but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the were-gild, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

(e) The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called the *fredum*, i. e. *pax*, a payment to the king as conservator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Montesquieu sees in this passage the origin of the *fiscal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He observes further, that, when a man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-medley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, because for involuntary

homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceased. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood was forfeited, as was likewise the beast that occasioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. c. 20. From these early institutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our English law, may be clearly seen.

(*f*) The whole country of Germany was divided into different states. In some of these monarchy was established, and in others the republican form of government. The former submitted to kings; the latter had their chiefs. The case was the same with the American savages. An eminent writer says, Though some tribes are found in America with a head, whom we call a king, his power is rather persuasive than coercive. The other forms, which may be considered as a sort of aristocracies, have no more power. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 176. In Germany, the leader of armies was elective. In each state or tribe the divisions were, 1st, the people; 2dly, the cantons, or shires, as they are called in Britain; 3dly, the VICI, or hundreds. Magistrates were chosen in general conventions of the people to preside in the several cantons and hundreds. Cæsar, who seems to contradict this, knew that the commander in war had no authority in time of peace; and thence, perhaps, arose his mistake. Tacitus expressly says, that there were magistrates in the several cantons and hundreds; and his account of the matter seems to be confirmed by the law made by the descendants of the German tribes, directing that, *according to ancient custom*, an assembly of the people should be convened before the Chief or COMES or his deputy, and that pleas should be held by the hundredor. *Conventus* SECUNDUM ANTIQUAM CONSUETUDINEM, *fiat in omni* CENTEMA *coram* COMITE, *aut suo* MISSO, *et coram* CENTENARIO *placitum fiat. Leges Alamannorum*, tit. xxxvi. lex. 1.

SECTION XIII.

(*a*) The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in

every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war or upon a journey.

(*b*) This seems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son prince Louis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side, and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms*. Brotier observes, that the sons of kings often received a present of arms from a foreign state; and, in conformity to that custom, AUDOIN, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father: but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate. Warnefrid, *De Gestis Langobardorum*, lib. i. s. 23.

(*c*) When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress called the *prætexta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum (or sometimes into the Capitol), where with much solemnity he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, or the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was

observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting. See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 197.

(*d*) We have seen that the chiefs among the Gauls, and also the Canadians, had a train of young adventurers, who listed in their service. See s. 12, note (*b*). Fidelity, no less than martial bravery, was the pride and glory of the followers, who voluntarily entered into the army. The respect with which they were beheld by their countrymen, was such, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the composition was three times more than the sum paid in the case of a common freeman.

(*e*) War was the ruling passion of all the northern nations. Among such a people it can not be matter of wonder, that the chief, who led them on to danger and heroic fortitude, should be idolized by the soldiers. In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms: that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 14. It was the same amongst tha Scandinavians, and we see in Charlevoix that the Americans followed their leaders with equal ardour.

Section XIV.

(*a*) When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters. Ammian. Marcellin. b. xvi. c. 13. There are instances of the same kind in Tacitus.

(*b*) It appears from Cæsar's account, that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay

waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. The custom of carrying arms in the service of foreign states, during a long peace at home, was in vogue among the Scandinavians. "The more valiant among them, unable to lie inactive, till their own country should offer them new occasions to enrich and signalize themselves, entered into the service of such other nations as were at war. This was a general custom among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient history affords us a thousand examples of it." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 234.

(*c*) From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to bestow but arms and horses; feasts and plenty of provisions. This was the whole wealth of the German warrior in his own country; this was what he imparted freely to his followers. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which at first, were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*, b. XXX. ch. 3, and 4. See Dr. Robertson, *Charles V.* p. 260, 263. See Abbé Millot, *Elémens de l'Histoire de France*, vol. i. p. 190. We find in Charlevoix, that the American chieftains were under the same obligation to bestow presents on the men who boiled the *war-kettle*, and *took up the hatchet* in their service. Charlevoix, letter xiv.

SECTION XV.

(a) The literal meaning of the original is, *They do not pass much of their time in hunting, but more of it in sluggish idleness.* NON MULTUM VENATIBUS, PLUS PER OTIUM TRANSIGUNT. This, at the first blush, seems to contradict Cæsar, who says, book vi. s. 20, their whole life is addicted to hunting and war. To reconcile the two authors, Lipsius, and others since his time, propose to leave out of the original text the negative word *non*. This, perhaps, would be right, but the meaning of the passage is clear without any alteration. They hunted during a few months of the year, and then gave up all their time to the sports of the chace. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine. The same custom prevailed among the American savages. Hunting, fishing, sleep, and drunkenness filled the whole round of their time. See Charlevoix in sundry places. A writer, who has left us a Latin History of Canada, says, when not engaged in hunting, or on a journey, the Canadians sit on the ground, or lie stretched in stupid repose, leaving all household affairs to their women, who are obliged to toil and labour; while the men think such menial offices beneath their dignity. See Creuxius, *Hist. Canadensis*, p. 65.

(b) In all the striking characters recorded in history or drawn by the poet's, or the orator's pen, we see a mixture of opposite qualities. Cataline, as described by Cicero, or by Sallust, is not the most wonderful instance even in civil society. Among rude and savage tribes, where nature works without restraint, the contrast is obvious. Every thing is in the extreme: peace and war, activity and sloth, love and hatred, all take their turn, and show themselves without disguise. No moderation, no gradual transition from one passion to another. Every thing is done on the impulse of the moment, and repugnant desires seem to lie blended together.

(c) Brotier finds in this passage the origin of tributes, by which he must be understood to mean voluntary contributions. The

Romans imposed a tribute, and other imposts under various names of *stipendia* and *vectigalia*, on all the conquered provinces. In Germany, where no man had a fixed possession of lands, and property was disregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states (CIVITATES) sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of the booty, and soon obtained a portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which in time, was levied by assessments under the name of *scutage*, *talliages*, or *subsidies*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. See Blackstone, vol. i. p. 309 and 310. The same law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman desired a supply from the barons of his country, in order to assert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to serve in foreign wars, and no consideration could induce them to raise a supply. See St. Amand, *Historical Essay on the Legislative Power*, p. 102. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or subsidy could be levied without the consent of the three estates in their general assembly. The first blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES observed, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king should levy money upon their tenants for the venal consideration of their having a share of the sum so collected. The historian adds, that the king gave a wound to his country, which would continue long to bleed; and, he asks with honest indignation, is there a prince upon the earth who has power

to raise a single penny from his subjects without the consent of those who are to pay it? The spirit of liberty has prevented the same grievance in this country, where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impost shall be exacted without the consent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

(*d*) These military presents were not peculiar to the Germans. The Romans had their civic crown, and other marks of distinction. Pliny the Elder relates, that Siccius Dentatus, tribune of the people under the consulship of Sp. Tarpeius and Aul. Aterius, A. U. C. 400, not long after the expulsion of the Tarquins, was engaged in one hundred and twenty battles, and returned with five and forty wounds, all honourably received in front and not one behind, and that for his valour he received eighteen lances, twenty-five rich accoutrements, three gold chains, and twenty-six civic or mural crowns. Pliny, b. vii. s. 28.

(*e*) This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans. Herod. lib. vi.

Section XVI.

(*a*) Ptolemy, who published his System of Geography under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than ninety cities in Germany; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts, like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus, an author more to be relied upon, who wrote the history of the Roman wars in Germany, does not mention a single city. He says, on the contrary, that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. *Oppida ut circumdata retiis busta declinant.* Marcell. lib. xvi. c. 2. The

idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne. See Cluverius, *Germania Antiqua*, lib. i.

(*b*) The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house, was that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line. For more of this see sect. xx. and note (*f*).

(*c*) Lafitau, in his account of the American savages, says, that their dwellings are the abode of poverty and the most wretched ignorance; and, if we except the natives of Peru and Mexico, who had the skill to build their cottages with stone, all the various tribes are content with miserable huts, such as the Romans, in their descriptions of Africa, called *Mapalia* and *Tuguria*. In some parts, towards the south as well as the north, the people take shelter in subterraneous caverns, formed by the hand of nature, and sometimes constructed by themselves. The *Eskimaux*, who inhabit near Davis's Strait in California, and Nova Zembla, pass the whole winter in those deep recesses, without ever venturing into the open air. Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains*, vol. ii. p. 5. See Ellis's *Hudson's Bay*. Dr. Robertson tells us, that some of the American tribes were so extremely rude, and had advanced so little beyond the primeval simplicity of nature, that they had no houses at all. During the day, they take shelter from the scorching rays of the sun under thick trees; at night they form a shed with their branches and leaves. In the rainy season they retire into caves, formed by the hand of nature, or hollowed out by their own industry. *History of America*, 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 173. See Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, lib. viii. where there are many curious particulars concerning the Germans in their subterraneous caverns. The same custom was observed among the Scythians. Pomponius Mela says, that during the extreme severity of the winter, they dwell under ground in natural caves, or in dens formed by their own labour. Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, lib. ii. cap. 1. The mansions of the Germans were such as Ovid describes in the first rude ages of the world:

——————Domus antra fuerunt,
Et densi frutices, et junctæ cortice virgæ.
METAMORPH. lib. i.

SECTION XVII.

(*a*) This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the Germans are clothed in the skins of animals called RHENONES; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked. *Pellibus aut parvis Rhenonum tegumentis utuntur, magnâ corporis parte nudâ.* Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. See a similar account of the Suevians, the most warlike of all the German nations, Cæsar, b. iv. s. 1; and see Pomponius Mela, b. iii. s. 3. Whoever would know more of the German dresses, will find a full account in PELLOUTIER, *Histoire des Celtes*, b. ii. s. 6.

(*b*) The most improved of the American tribes dwell in mean and simple huts, contrived merely for shelter. They are without windows, and have a large hole in the middle of the roof, to give a vent to the smoke. There the American, when war and the chase are over, hovers over the fire, and dozes away his time in torpid indolence. See Dr. Robertson, *Hist. of America*, b. iv. and Charlevoix, *passim*.

(*c*) Cluverius, the celebrated geographer, in his *Germania Antiqua*, describes the tight dresses of the Germans, in such plain terms, as will not, in point of delicacy, admit of a translation. The loose attire of the Sarmatians was, however, adopted by some of the German settlers on the western side of the Rhine.

Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
Vangiones, Batavique truces.
LUCAN, lib. i. v. 430

Vangiones, like loose Sarmatians drest,
Who with tough hides their brawny thighs invest.
ROWE'S LUCAN.

(*d*) The people bordering on the Baltic, and also on the Northern Ocean, called by Tacitus the Exterior Sea, were not only curious in their choice of furs, but studious to embellish them with shells and shining stones, and fragments of the scales of the various fish found in those seas. In like manner the Eskimaux savages of America, the Greenlanders, and all the rude inhabitants of the northern regions, are clad in furs, stained with a variety of colours. This practice is still continued with regard to the ermine, which is spotted with black lamb's skin. According to Cluverius, the women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.

Section XVIII.

(*a*) In this passage Tacitus seizes the opportunity to commend the noble simplicity of the German marriages, in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome, and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage vow. Montesquieu, in his compendious manner, has shown the progress of vice till it triumphed over the office of the censor, and established an entire corruption of manners. The civil wars reduced the number of citizens; and of those that remained, few were married. Julius Cæsar and Augustus passed their laws against celibacy, called by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25, the Julian statutes, and by him declared to be a feeble remedy. See *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxiii. ch. 21. The lines of Horace stating the same complaint need not be quoted. The indignation of Juvenal in his sixth satire is sufficiently known. The simplicity and virtue of the marriage contract among the tribes of Germany are given by Tacitus as a striking contrast to the depravity of Roman manners. The instances in which a plurality of wives was indulged, occurred but seldom, and even then were founded on special reasons. Thus we read that Ariovistus had two wives: the first of the Suevian nation: the second, the sister of a king, who courted the alliance of that German warrior. Cæsar, b. i. s. 53. Montesquieu assigns the same reason for the number of wives among the kings of the first race. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 24. For a proof of the fidelity of the German wives,

see the passage from Florus, s. 8. of this tract, note (*a*). La Bletterie says, that among the women who perished with their husbands on that occasion, the Romans found one hanging by the neck, and her two children fastened to her feet. Among the wild Canadians it appears that women were not in the same estimation as in Germany. The preliminary and the ceremony of marriage are extremely simple. The young man seats himself by the side of the girl in her own cabin; and if she suffers it without stirring from her place, she is held to be consenting to the marriage. The bridegroom gives her various presents; which are so many symbols and admonitions of the slavery to which she is going to be reduced; such as a collar and straps to carry burthens; a kettle and a faggot, importing that she is to dress the victuals, and make a provision of wood. The husband has his own peculiar functions; he makes a mattress for his wife, builds a cabin for her, and passes his time in hunting and fishing. The man who abandons his wife without good cause, must expect nothing but insults from her relations; and a woman who wantonly leaves her husband must pass her time still worse. In some places the husband has a right to cut off the nose of the wife who elopes from him. See Charlevoix, letter xix.

(*b*) By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons. *Leges Saxonum*, tit. vii. *De Dote*.

Section XIX.

(*a*) Seneca considers public spectacles as so many places of seduction. Nothing, he says, is so dangerous as loitering at such diversions, for, when the heart is softened by pleasure, the passions stand ready for the admission of every vice. How is this to be understood? I return from those places more avaricious, more ambitious, more luxurious. *Nihil vero est tam damnosum bonis moribus, quam in aliquo spectaculo desidere. Tunc enim per voluptatem facilius vitia surrepunt. Quid me existimas dicere? Avarior redeo, ambitiosior, luxuriosior.* Senec. ep. vii.

(*b*) Marobodius and Adgandestrius, two German kings, are supposed to have been able to write, since their letters to Rome are mentioned, *Annals*, b. iii. s. 63, and 88; but their countrymen in general were rude and illiterate. Many centuries passed before reading and writing came into general use. In the middle ages, kings and warriors were not able to write; and it is well known that in this country a lord of parliament, was, by law, entitled to his *clergy*, though he could not read. The art of writing is finely described in the following translation of a passage from Lucan:

> The noble art from Cadmus took its rise,
> Of painting words, and speaking to the eyes.
> He first in wondrous magic fetters bound
> The airy voice and stopt the flying sound.
> The various figures, by his pencil wrought,
> Gave colour and a body to the thought.

But this art was almost wholly unknown in Germany, and, by consequence, love-letters were not in use.

(*c*) By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable. *Laws of the Visigoths*, tit. *De Adulteriis*, lex. 3.

(*d*) The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, tit. xxviii. to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adulteress, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death. See an Epistle from St. Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, to Ethelbald,

king of England, in Michael Alford's *Annales Ecclesiæ Anglo-Saxonicæ*, tom. ii.

(*e*) Salvien, a priest of Marseilles, who wrote in the fifth century, has left a remarkable parallel between the manners of the Romans and the Germans, at the time when those fierce invaders were making their inroads in every quarter of Europe. The progress of vice was such, that a general corruption of manners was diffused through the wide extent of the empire. Salvien says, that the barbarians seemed destined not only to conquer, but to reform the vices of the age. Wherever the Goths and Vandals carried their victorious arms, no kind of licentiousness was seen, except among the old inhabitants. The Romans loved debauchery; the barbarians detested it: the Romans considered adultery as an elegant fashion; the barbarians thought it a crime. See Salvien, *De Gubernatione Dei*, lib. vii. Juvenal, who wrote in the time of Domitian, and is supposed to have died in the reign of Adrian, has shown the depravity of the age in which he lived; and yet those dissolute manners were tenderly called *the way of the world.* Seneca has observed, when enormous vices are grown so general as to be the manners of a people, no remedy can be expected. *Desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores sunt.*

(*f*) The facility with which divorces were obtained at Rome, introduced an indefinite right of renouncing one marriage and embracing another, as often as caprice or a new passion dictated. The letter of the law was observed, but the spirit was grossly counteracted. *Lusus erat sacræ connubia fallere tædæ*, says Martial; and the same author, in an excellent epigram, tells us that the Julian law against adultery was revived, and yet, in less than thirty days, Thelesina married her tenth husband; if that may be called a marriage, which in fact was no better than a legal adultery. To such an artful woman, says the poet, the more simple vice of a common prostitute is preferable.

Julia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est,
Atque intrare domos jussa pudicitia est;
Aut minus, aut certè non plus tricesima lux est,
Et nubit decimo jam Thelesina viro.
Quæ nubit toties, non nubit, adultera lege est;
Offendor mœchâ simpliciore minus.

MARTIAL, lib. vi. epig. 7.

Chastity was in higher respect among the tribes of Germany. According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and assigned that reason to Marius, when they made it their request to be admitted into the vestal order. See this tract, s. 8, note (*a*), where it will be seen that those women strangled themselves, rather than expose their persons to the passions of the Roman soldiers. Valerius Maximus adds, if the gods, on the day of battle, had inspired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boasted of his Teutonic victory. Valerius Maximus, b. vi. ch. i.

(*g*) In the Epistle from St. Boniface, already cited in this section, note (*d*), we are told, that among the *Vinedians*, a rude and barbarous people, the sanctity of marriage was observed with so much zeal and mutual affection, that the wife, on the death of her husband, dispatched herself, that her body might be burned on the same funeral pile with the man she loved. Procopius (*de Bell. Goth.* lib. ii.) gives an account of the same conjugal fidelity among the Heruli. It is needless to mention the same practice among the widows of Malabar, and other parts of India.

(*h*) Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an absolute jurisdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing short of absolute dominion, gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and exposed to wild beasts. See Minucius Felix, *in Octavio*, cap. 50. Laws were, undoubtedly, made to stem the torrent of licentiousness, but those were eluded by

the arts of procuring abortion. Juvenal inveighs against that horrible practice with his usual spirit:

> Hæ tamen et partûs subeunt discrimen, et omnes
> Nutricis tolerant, fortuna urgente, labores.
> Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
> Quæ steriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos
> Conducit.
>
> JUVENAL, sat. vi. v. 592.

> Yet these, though poor, the pain of child-bed bear,
> And, without nurses, their own infants rear.
> You seldom hear of the rich mantle spread
> For the babe, born in the great lady's bed.
> Such is the pow'r of herbs; such arts they use
> To make them barren, or their fruit to lose.
>
> DRYDEN'S JUVENAL.

Such were the manners of an enlightened people, who were so prodigal of the name of barbarians to all the nations round them. How much superior was the natural reason, the instinct, it may be said, of the German tribes, to the boasted philosophy of Greece and Rome! It is remarkable that Pliny the elder apologizes for the unnatural practice of the Romans. The prolific vigour, he says, of some women, who would otherwise be overstocked with children, calls for this indulgence. *Quoniam aliquarum fœcunditas plena liberis venia indiget.* Lib. xxix. The Germans felt the power of parental fondness, and accordingly we see in the Salic law (tit. xxviii. *De Homicidiis Parvulorum*) that their descendants imposed various pecuniary fines for cruelty to infants; for killing a woman with child, or a woman not past child-bearing; with many other clauses, all tending to protect the rising generation. The Americans were not deficient in affection for their offspring; but it does not appear that they attended to the means of multiplying their numbers. Charlevoix relates an instance of filial affection blended with savage ferocity. An Iroquois, who had served in the French army against his own nation, met his father in an engagement, and in the act of going to give the mortal

blow, discovered who he was. He stopped his arm, and said to his prostrate father, " The life which I received from you, this " day I give you. Let me not meet you again; for now I owe " you nothing." Charlevoix, letter xxi. p. 89.

(*i*) Justin says of the Scythians, Justice is cultivated in that country more through the disposition of the people, than by declaratory laws. *Justitia gentis ingeniis culta, non legibus.* Justin, b. ii. ch. 3. The same writer adds, It is altogether astonishing that natural instinct should teach a savage race, what neither moral wisdom, nor the precepts of philosophy, could establish in Greece. Elegant manners yielded to uninstructed nature. Ignorance of vice did more among barbarians than all the boasted systems of a polished nation. *Prorsus ut admirabile videatur, hoc illis naturam dare, quod Græci longâ sapientium doctrinâ, præceptisque philosophorum consequi nequeunt, cultosque mores inculta barbariæ collatione superari. Tanto plus in illis proficit vitiorum ignoratio, quam in his cognitio virtutis.* Justin, lib. ii. s. 2.

Section XX.

(*a*) Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy, brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred, their patience and firmness under every hardship; and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Seneca, epist. xxxvi. and, *De Ira*, lib. i. s. 11. Charlevoix describes the American children wallowing in dirt, and reared in the same manner as the German infants, without the help of a nurse; a circumstance mentioned by Tacitus, for the sake of glancing obliquely at the fashion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurses and Greek servants. For more of this, see the *Dialogue concerning Oratory*, s. 29.

(*b*) The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end

of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men, who are fit for military service, should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. See Cassiodorus, *Epist.* 1. Montesquieu observes, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I have put," he said, "this javelin in your hands, to inform you, that I now resign the kingdom to your care:" and then, turning to the assembly, "You see that Childebert is a man; obey him." Montesquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the strength of body that was requisite for his defence in combat. Amongst the Burgundians, who made use of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of discretion. In succeeding times heavy armour came into use, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxviii, ch. 26 and 27.

(*c*) Cæsar gives the same account. The young men who are not acquainted with the union of the sexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded. *Qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires, nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vigesimum fœminæ notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus. De Bell. Gall. lib.* vi. s. 20.

(*d*) Tacitus uses the words, *pares validæque miscentur*, that is, they are married equal and robust. Brotier understands the expression as applying to the equality of conditions, or a marriage among persons of equal rank; and he cites laws from the German code, annexing penalties to those of both sexes who marry persons of inferior rank. But the equality here intended by Taci-

tus seems from the context to be no other than maturity of years in the contracting parties. The distinctions of rank, which took place among the Franks in Gaul, were unknown to the German tribes in their own country.

(*e*) We find in Charlevoix, that, though it be true that there is no nation in the world where the female sex is more despised, it is equally true that the children belong to the mother only, and the father is always held as a stranger to his offspring, while, at the same time, he is respected as the master of the cabin. Charlevoix, letter xix. In some parts of Asia and Africa, filiation was reckoned from the mother only, perhaps because in those countries the real father was equivocal. Among the Germans there was not the same room for jealousy. It is true, that the woman convicted of adultery was shorn of her locks, and driven out of the village; but still marriage was deemed a sacred institution, and conjugal fidelity was a female virtue throughout the nation. The women reared their infants at their breast, and trusted nothing to nurses or servants. The husband hunted, or lounged by the fire-side in stupid apathy. He dwelt in one hut with his family; but he valued them no more than if they were all assembled by accident, and for his offspring he felt no solicitude. Filial affection was, by consequence, fixed on the mother. Add to this the respect, nothing short of veneration, which was paid to the sex by all the different tribes. These considerations may account for the affection of the maternal uncle for his sister's children. It was for this reason, says Montesquieu, that the early French historians dwell so much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their sisters, and the sister's children. By the Salic law, the sister of the mother was preferred to the father's sister; and, when a woman became a widow, she fell under the guardianship of the female relations of her deceased husband. Moreover, when a man was guilty of homicide, the law allowed him to deliver up his whole substance, and his relations were to make good the deficiency. In that case, after the father, mother, and brother, the sister of the mother was to pay, as if that was the tenderest tie,

We read in Gregory of Tours, b. viii. ch. 18 and 20, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece: a war was carried on by Childebert, her brother, to revenge the injury done to his sister. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. The seeds of these several customs among the Franks are plainly seen in the German manners.

(*f*) Thus we see that, by custom (the unwritten law of the Germans), the females were excluded from the succession to the lands of their deceased father. What those lands were is clearly explained by Montesquieu. While the Franks, he says, lived in their own country, their whole stock consisted of slaves, herds of cattle, horses, arms, and accoutrements. Lands for cultivation were assigned to them by the state for a year only, and after that time it was resumed by the public. What then were the lands to which the male issue succeeded? Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, because the mansion of a German was called SAL, and the space inclosing it SALBAC, the homestead. When the FRANKS issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the course of descent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He takes notice of two different editions of the Salic law; but the last, it seems, is not correct. From the former, Rapin states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue, his father or *his* mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or his sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the SALIC land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the succession.

Rapin has entered into a long discussion, but Montesquieu was master of his subject, and with the brevity of Tacitus has placed the whole in the clearest light. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land should go to the sword, and not to the distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. The Salic law was founded on the customs and manners of Germany. If the father left children, the daughters were excluded, and the right of inheritance vested in the sons. The well-known law of the French monarchy, which excludes the female line from the succession to the crown, had its origin in the woods of Germany. It is true that, in process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xviii. ch. 22. See also Rapin's Dissertation.

(*g*) To be possessed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the same time old without issue, gave the highest credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was surrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation sent handsome presents, in hopes of being made testamentary heirs, or, at least, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this situation were such, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incense of adulation. Rome was divided into two classes; the rich, who amused their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for sudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a striking picture of the avaricious sycophant: he is a vulture, lying in wait for a carcase. *Vultur est, cadaver expectat*. Horace, Juvenal, and Martial, have made both ranks of men a subject of ridicule. See *Annals*, b. iii. s. 25.

Section XXI.

(*a*) In the rude state of society, before men had any notion of an umpire or magistrate to decide their differences, it was natural that every man should exercise a right to repel injuries from himself and his family. It was also natural that he should demand atonement from the wrong-doer. Resentment is an active principle in the frame of man. In the minds of savages it inflamed a spirit of revenge. Their relations, their friends, and their clan, joined in the quarrel. Whole tribes waged war against each other for the sake of an individual. Ties of consanguinity and the sentiments of social affection contributed to aggravate the mischief. Every rude uncivilized state was filled with intestine broils. It was the pride of a German (and the same may be seen among the savages of America) to expect redress from the vigour of his own arm. He thought it infamous, says Dr. Robertson, to give up to another the right of determining what reparation he should accept, or with what vengeance he should rest satisfied. It is well known that in Britain when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was pursued not only against the offender and his family, but against the whole clan; and this spirit of revenge was distinguished by the name of *deadly feud*. During the short reign of king Edmund, a law was passed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceased and the murderer himself (See Hume's *Hist.* App. i.); so late was it before men could be taught to resign their natural rights for the sake of enjoying a surer protection under a regular government. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of the peace. We have seen in this tract, s. xii. and in the notes (*d*) and (*e*), that a composition for offences was made by a mulct of cattle, and that the king or chiefs of the state received a fine for the violation of the public peace. The savage, who before that time depended on his own martial vigour, was willing to resign his resentment to the direction of the magistrate, and to receive a stated compensation. The spirit of revenge was appeased, and the *deadly feud* of course gave way to the new jurisdiction.

(*b*) This compromise for manslaughter and other personal injuries had the happy effect of curbing the ferocity of a barbarous race; but still the principle of the composition was a satisfaction to the injured party. Avarice was called in to appease revenge. A debt was supposed to be due for the crime committed, and this appears to have been established in the remotest ages. Homer mentions a composition for murder:

> ——————— If a brother bleed,
> On just atonement we remit the deed.
> A sire the slaughter of his son forgives;
> The price of blood discharg'd, the murd'rer lives.
> 9th Iliad, v. 743.

And again in the description of Achilles's shield:

> There in the forum swarm a numerous train,
> The subject of debate a townsman slain:
> One pleads the fine discharg'd, which one denied,
> And bade the public and the laws decide.
> 18th Iliad, v. 577.

This mode of composition for crimes and injuries was adopted by the various communities in Germany; but their descendants, after their irruption into Gaul, Italy, and Spain, still claimed the right of waging private war for private injuries. Hostilities continued during a number of years, and the animosity of the contending parties laid a scene of blood. Charlemagne endeavoured by a positive law to abolish the mischief; but the genius of one man was not sufficient to eradicate a custom so firmly established. See Robertson, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 54. Some of the prices settled by the Salic law for a variety of offences may be seen in this tract, s. 12, note (*d*). By the law of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, the price of the king's head, or his WEREGILD, was fixed at 30,000 *thrimsas*, a species of coin whose value is uncertain. The price of the prince's head was 15,000 *thrimsas*; the bishop's or alderman's, 8,000; the sheriff's, 4,000; a thane's or clergyman's, 2,000; a ceorle's, 266. Hume's *History*, App. i.

(*b*) The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; sometimes four or five. Horace mentions four:

> Sæpe tribus lectis videas cœnare quaternos.

Cicero, in Pisonem, says, there was nothing in his house neat or elegant. Five Greeks and often more, lay crowded on one couch. *Nihil apud hunc lautum, nihil elegans. Græci quini stipati in lectulis, sæpe plures.* Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table. That this was the primitive custom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer; and Virgil, his great imitator, says,

> Hæ sacris sedes epulis; hic arjete cæso
> Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.
>
> Æneid. vii. v. 175

> This was their temple, this their court of state;
> Here at their sacred feast the fathers sat.
>
> Pitt's Virgil.

(*c*) The same love of liquor, with all its consequential mischiefs, have been observed by all travellers among the savage tribes of America. Charlevoix says, the avarice of the French dealers introduced drunkenness among them, and that in the streets of Montreal, husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters were frequently seen, in a state of intoxication, worrying one another with their teeth, like so many enraged wolves. Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North America*, letter viii. See also the *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 169. To

suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the SALIC LAW ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death. Tit. *De Homicidiis in Convivio factis.*

(*d*) Lipsius says, that, when he read Xenophon's account of the Persians (*Cyropædia*, lib. viii.), he was struck with the wonderful conformity of the eastern nations to the manners of the ancient Germans. See the speech of Civilis in a sacred grove, when all were warm with liquor. *Hist.* b. iv. s. 14. Plutarch, in his *Symposiacs*, b. vii. qu. 9, observes, that it was the custom of the Greeks, as well as the Persians, to debate of state affairs at their convivial meetings. He refers to a passage in Homer, where Nestor advises Agamemnon to prepare a feast, and then hear the ablest counsellor. For this Plutarch gives a reason: There is, he says, a wineless drunkenness excited by anger, malice, ambition, and other turbulent passions; but wine rather overcomes the bad affections, and stirs and agitates the generous emotions of the heart. Among the American savages, when any business of consequence is transacted, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole tribe partakes. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 178.

SECTION XXIII.

(*a*) Pliny the elder observes, that the Egyptians had their intoxicating liquor distilled from grain, which their country produced in great abundance. But while the Earth thought that she was yielding large crops of corn, the wit of man, ever ingenious in new modes of vice, derived the art of making even water an intoxicating liquor. *Heu, mira vitiorum solertia! inventum est quemadmodum aqua quoque inebriaret. Nat. Hist.* lib. xiv. s. 29.

(*b*) What Tacitus calls *lac concretum*, coagulated milk, Cæsar calls by the name of cheese. *Major pars victus eorum lacte, et casseo, et carne consistit. De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21. Pliny the

elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. *Nat. Hist.* b. xi. s. 96. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

Infundunt acido comam butyro.

(*c*) The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. See Mela, b. iii. ch. 3. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request. *Coqui triumphorum pretiis parabuntur; nullusque prope jam mortalis æstimatur pluris, quam qui peritissimè censum domini mergit.* Plin. lib. ix. s. 17. Statius, in an elegant poem, giving an account of the manner in which he passed a night with a friend says, they had no fashionable dishes, no rarities from distant climates, and no wines of an age to vie with consuls of ancient date. Wretched they, who know the difference between the Phasian bird and the crane of Rhodopè; who can tell what kind of goose has the largest liver; why the Tuscan boar exceeds the Umbrian; and on which coast may be found the best bed of oysters!

——————— Neque enim ludibria ventris
Hausimus, aut epulas diverso a sole petitas,
Vinaque perpetuis ævo certantia fastis.
Ah! miseri, quos nosse juvat quid Phasidos ales
Distat ab hybernâ Rhodopes grue; quis magis anser
Exta ferat; cur Thuscus aper generosior Umbro;
Lubrica quâ recubant conchylia mollius algâ.

STAT. SYLV. lib. iv. poem. 6.

Florus relates, that the Cimbrians, after their expedition over

the Alps, lost all their ferocity by the use of bread, meat dressed at the fire, and the delicious wines of Italy; and, by consequence, were more easily defeated by Marius. Florus, b. iii. ch. 3.

(*d*) Thus we know, that the Europeans, when they settled in North America, soon found it their interest to supply the natives with spirituous liquors. They waged a war of gin and brandy against the various tribes, some of which have been subdued and others almost totally extirpated, by their own drunkenness. See Charlevoix, letter viii. The same writer says, that a savage, being asked by a French officer what he thought the brandy, which he loved so much, was made of, gave for answer: "It is made of *tongues and hearts;* for when I have drunk of it, I fear nothing, and I talk like an angel." Letter xxi. p. 83.

Section XXIV.

(*a*) Public exhibitions cost the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expense was enormous, and the profession of a player was so profitable, that, according to Pliny, Roscius gained annually a sum almost incredible. In the luxury of the times that followed, immense fortunes were acquired by the public performers.

(*b*) The rage for gaming, which has been observed among barbarians in almost every quarter of the globe, may be accounted for with much difficulty. The life of a savage is passed in war, in hunting, fishing, and in scenes of plunder and rapine. When that employment no longer calls for his exertions, he sinks down in listless indolence. The ordinary occurrences of the day have nothing to rouse his faculties. Tired of himself and of languid apathy, he wants some object to excite and agitate his passions. Gaming answers this purpose. Every thing is put to the decision of chance; hope and fear succeed each other; and joy and rage, and pleasure and disappointment, excite the strongest emotions of the soul. The danger of losing his whole stock, and even his liberty, relieves the savage from the oppression under which he laboured. The deeper the play, the more his passions are alarm-

ed; and that inward conflict, that agitation of the mind, is the incentive that makes him delight in games of chance. Brotier quotes a remarkable passage from St. Ambrose, who gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. *Et cum sine legibus vivant, aleæ solius legibus obedire.* St. Ambrose adds, that when the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle a person well known to the Roman emperor, suffered death at the command of the winner. Lafitau has an entire chapter concerning the love of play among the savages of America. He describes their manner of supplying the want of dice, by forming the bones of animals to a convenient size, with six faces, but two larger than the rest, one of them black, and the other of a pale yellow hue. One half of a village plays against the other, and often village against village. They hazard all they have, and frequently retire stark naked in the deep snow and rigour of the winter. They even stake their liberty, and go willingly into servitude. Lafitau cites Father Labat to prove the same custom among the negroes of Africa. *Mœurs des Sauvages*, vol. ii. p. 338 to 359. See also Charlevoix, vol. ii. p. 12 and 13. Dr. Robertson says, the same causes which so often prompt persons in civilized life to have recourse to this pastime, render it the delight of the savage. Both run with transport to whatever is interesting enough to stir and agitate their minds. Hence the Americans, who at other times are so indifferent, so phlegmatic, so silent, and animated with so few desires, as soon as they engage at play, become rapacious, impatient, noisy, and almost frantic with eagerness. Their furs, their domestic utensils, their clothes, their arms are staked at the gaming-table: and when all is lost, high as their sense of independence is, in a wild emotion of despair or hope, they will often risk their personal liberty upon a single cast. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. p. 202 and 203. The

love of play and dicelis, undoubtedly, a passion of great antiquity, and will not easily be eradicated. A writer in Churchill's Voyages says, he went to St. Cosmo, half a league from Mexico, to see the house and gardens of Don John de Vargas: the first finely finished, and the second full of fountains. This gentleman keeps his coach and six, spends six thousand pieces of eight a year, without any other revenue but what he has from cards and dice. On some nights he wins thirty thousand pieces of eight. Churchill's *Voyages*, vol. iv. p. 508. Have not such persons been heard of in Europe, and in modern times? St. Ambrose, in the tract quoted above, assigns the reason: Dice have their laws, which the courts of justice can not conquer. *Habet et alea suas leges, quas jura fori non solvunt.* See Senftlebius, *De Alea Veterum*, p. 14.

Section XXV.

(*a*) See in Tacitus (*Annals*, b. xiv. s. 43) an account of Pedanius Secundus, who had fourscore servants in his family, with specific names for their several departments. This was called his city establishment, *familia urbana.* In the country the Romans had their rural slaves under different appellations. In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti.* Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called LIDI. This distinction appears in the SALIC LAW, tit. XXX. See in Spelmen's *Glossary*, title *Villanus.* Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

(*b*) A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expense of the suit.

(*c*) The slave at Rome when manumitted, was called LIBERTUS, and his decendants were LIBERTINI. In process of time, when the Franks, in their new possessions, became acquainted with money, the ceremony of enfranchisement was performed by striking out of the slave's hand a DENARIUS, and from that circumstance the freedman was called DENARIATUS. Their rank, however, was little higher than that of a slave; and by the Ripuarian law, tit. lvii. lex. 4, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

(*d*) As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and others of that description, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind. Nerva, Trajan, and the Antonines, never transacted any kind of public business by the intervention of their freedmen. We are told that Adrian, seeing one of his slaves walking with a familiar air, between two senators, ordered a person to go directly and give the impudent fellow a box on the face, with this monition, Learn more respect for those, to whom you may be transferred as a slave." Tacitus informs us, that Agricola never suffered his slaves nor freedmen to play the part of agents in the affairs of his administration. See *Life of Agricola*, s. 19. It is observed by Montesquieu (*Spirit of Laws*, b. xv. ch. 18.), that the freedmen under the emperors paid their court to the weaknesses of their masters, and then taught them to reign by their vices, not their virtues. It is remarkable that the same abuse of power, that prevailed at Rome under the worst of the emperors, was also felt in those parts of Germany, where monarchy and despotism were established.

(*e*) We have here four distinct ranks; the nobles, the men of ingenuous birth, the freedmen, and the slaves. In Gaul, according to Cæsar, there were two principal orders of men, the druids and the nobles, the common people being little better than slaves.

Book vi. s. 12. The Franks, in imitation of their German ancestors, had four classes of men; their nobles, their ingenuous, their LIDI, and their slaves; and this, Montesquieu observes, is clearly proved by the composition for offences proportioned to the different ranks of the several complainants. *Spirit of Laws*, b. xxx. ch. 25. See *Memoires de l'Acad. des Belles Letters*, vol. xxxvii. p. 541.

SECTION XXVI.

(*a*) The practice of laying out money at exorbitant interest, and exacting payment with harsh severity, was an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*, b. vi. s. 16, and note (*a*).

(*b*) The critics make it a question, whether it should be *per vices* or *per vicos*. But whether we understand that the Germans cultivated the lands by turns, or removed to different places, the difference does not seem to be material. It is, however, ascertained by Cæsar, that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and in the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold; lest avarice should get footing among them; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 21. See Duncan's Cæsar, b. vi. s. 20. Horace describes the Scythians wandering in like manner, from place to place, and never occupying the same spot for more than a single year.

Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ,
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annuâ.

Lib. iii. ode 24.

(c) In the first ages of the world, the year was distinguished by two seasons only. Moses mentions seed-time and harvest, summer and winter. *Genesis*, ch. viii. In process of time, the exertions of industry marked out other periods; but all that the Germans wanted of the earth was corn and grain, and, the harvest being over, they had no fruits to expect in autumn. Brotier says, the Germans at this day have no distinct word in their language for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is HERBST, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin. The *fall of the leaf* is a paraphrastical expression, denoting that season of the year by the decay of nature, not by the maturity of her fruits.

SECTION XXVII.

(a) The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. Book xxxii. And the same author says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Book xii. The Romans borrowed their superfluous pomp from the eastern nations, and particularly from the Persians, who did not burn the dead bodies, but deposited them in sepulchres of superb structure, where they heaped an immense quantity of spices, and a profusion of rich ornaments. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquisite spices, and the images of Sylla

and his lictor constructed with frankincense and cinnamon. The following lines in Lucan, describing the last honours paid by Cornelia to the remains of Pompey the Great, happily illustrate the custom of the Romans:

> Collegit vestes miserique insignia Magni,
> Armaque, et impressas auro, quas gesserat olim,
> Exuvias, pictasque togas, velamina summo
> Ter conspecta Jovi, funestoque intulit igni.
>
> PHARSAL. lib. ix. v. 175.

> To her lord's shade she builds a funeral pile,
> And decks it proud with many a noble spoil.
> There shone his arms with antique gold inlaid,
> There the rich robes, which she herself had made;
> The relics of his past victorious days
> Now this his latest trophy serve to raise,
> And in one common flame together blaze.
>
> ROWE, b. ix. v. 294.

(*b*) The things which a German valued most were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with a persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. Hence the same custom in almost every quarter of the globe, particularly in the northern parts of Europe. It is true that Tacitus does not expressly tells us that the Germans believed in the immortality of the soul; but in sect. 39, we find, that they had a conception of a Supreme God, the governor of the world; *regnator omnium Deus, cætera subjecta atque parentia.* And since it is evident, that the Icelandic mythology attributed to the Deity infinite power, boundless knowledge, and incorruptible justice; since it appears that they did not allow the Divinity to be represented under any corporeal form, nor to be confined within the inclosure of walls; and since they were taught to offer up their adoration in woods and consecrated forests; it may be fairly inferred from that striking coincidence in the religious opinions of both nations, that the belief of a future state was part of the German creed. See *Northern Antiquities*, ch. v. We read that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his spear, his sword,

with his other warlike weapons, and even his horse's head, were found in his tomb. An human skull was also discovered, supposed to be that of his faithful follower. See Montfaucon *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, tom. i. p. 10. Lafitau, Charlevoix, and other travellers, describe the same notions of a future state, and the same funeral ceremonies, among the savages of America. Dr. Robertson says, as they imagine that departed spirits begin their career anew in the world whither they are gone, they bury together with the bodies of the dead, their bow, their arrows, and other weapons used in hunting or war; they deposit in their tomb the skins or stuffs of which they make garments, Indian corn, venison, domestic utensils, and whatever is reckoned among the necessaries in their simple mode of life. *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. b. 4. See also *European Settlements in America*, vol. i, p. 183. Virgil describes a funeral ceremony exactly similar to that of the Germans.

> At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
> Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque tubamque.
>
> Æneid. lib. vi. v. 232.

> This done, to solemnize the warrior's doom,
> The pious hero raised a lofty tomb.
> The tow'ring top his well-known ensigns bore,
> His arms, his once loud trump and tap'ring oar.
>
> Pitt's Virgil.

(c) Sentiments of a similar kind occur in Seneca, and, perhaps, the distinguishing critic may trace some resemblance in the expression. A year he says is allowed to female grief, not *with* intent that the whole time should be so employed, but that it should not be protracted longer. No time is prescribed to the men, because none is proper. *Annum fœminis ad lugendum constituere majores, non ut tamdiu lugerent, sed ne diutius: viris nullum legitimum tempus est, quia nullum honestum.* Epist. 64. In another place, he says, Our ancestors did not forbid grief and mourning, but they fixed the bounds; observing a just mean between the tenderness of affection and the rules of reason: they

wisely said, Feel regret for your friends, but conquer it. *Majores nostri non prohibuerunt luctus, sed finierunt: optimum inter pietatem et rationem temperamentum est, et sentire desiderium, et opprimere. De Consol.* cap. 15. He talks in another place of birds and other animals that love their young with ardent affection; but their love dies with their offspring. This, he says, does not become a man: let him continue to remember, but let him cease to grieve. *Meminisse perseveret, lugere desinat.* Epist. 99. The same rule has taken place among the American savages. Lafitau observes that the women vent their grief in songs of bitter lamentations, and floods of tears; but the men consider that excess as a weakness beneath their dignity. They sit in pensive silence, and grieve inwardly; sensible of their loss, but not unmanned by tenderness. The author of the *European Settlements in America* says, the women lament the loss with bitter cries, and the most hideous howlings, intermixed with songs, which celebrate the great actions of the deceased, and those of his ancestors. The men mourn in a less extravagant manner. *European Settlements in America*, vol. i. p. 183.

Section XXVIII.

(*a*) We are now come to what may be called the second part of this treatise. The author has taken a survey of the general manners, and he now proceeds to give a distinct account of the several states that occupied the various divisions of the country. It has been observed (s. i. note *a*), that the Upper and Lower Germany, which lay on the side of Gaul, *Gallia Cisrhenana*, is not comprised in this inquiry. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*, that the author intends to describe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eastward along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, or the Weissel. Tacitus accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæsar, who says, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, sent several colonies over

the Rhine. Accordingly the VOLCÆ took possession of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian forest, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were distinguished by their bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abstinence, and laborious way of life. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 23. It it worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæsar the most respectable of authors, SUMMUS AUCTORUM, and yet in some instances, differs from him. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that whenever a variance arises between them, Tacitus did not wilfully seek occasion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had passed since Cæsar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of information were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

(*b*) The Hercynian Forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days journey in breadth; that being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Cæsar *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. s. 24. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest, lib. xvi. s. 2. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Forêt de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian forest. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany can not now be ascertained. It is

known, however, that they settled in Germany near the Hercynian forest, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus, or the Mein, and the Black forest.

(*c*) The Boians were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians, in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany can not be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son Sigovesus into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which at that time, were greatly over-peopled. Book v. s. 34. It is most probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He says, the old German term *heim* or *haim* signifies habitation, and thence the French derived *hameau;* and the compound word *Boiohæmum* was *the habitation of the Boians.* We read in Velleius Paterculus (lib. ii. s. 109.) that *Boiohæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maroboduus. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

(*d*) Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the Northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube. See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, vol. i. p. 184.

(*e*) The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves;* the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray. See more concerning the Nervians, Cæsar's *Comment.* lib. ii.

(*f*) These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms;* the Tribooi, *the diocese of Strasbourg;* the Nemetes *the diocese of Spire.* Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

(*g*) During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general, and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. iv. s. 16. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation. Their alliance with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Pressed and persecuted by the Cattians, they applied to the Romans for a safe retreat on the Gallic side of the Rhine. Their request was granted, and lands were assigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration can not now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, most probably, in one of those expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new settlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, she established a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called the *Agrippinian colony;* and thence the modern name of *Cologne.* The people were pleased with a title, which at once did honour to their protectress, and recalled the name of the first founder. See *Annals*, b. xii. s. 27.

SECTION XXIX.

(*a*) The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attachment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, s. 10, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the history, they are said to be originally of the Cattian nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. They adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britian as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and, having stormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*. The Batavian island is said in the *Annals*, b. ii. s. 6, to be formed by two branches of the Rhine; one running in a direct course, and with a rapid current, till it empties itself into the German Ocean; the other more gentle, falling into the Vahal (now the Waal), and thence through the broad mouth of the Mosa (the Meuse) into the Ocean. It is certain, however, that there was another outlet, since Tacitus mentions the canal made by Drusus, the father of Germanicus, through which the Rhine had a communication with several prodigious lakes that discharged themselves into the Ocean. Germanicus sailed through the canal of Drusus to the open sea. See *Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. Grotius the scholar, and, it may be added, the rival of Tacitus, in his *History of the Wars with Spain*, which in imitation of his master, he called Annals, has given an account of the country, that may with propriety be inserted in this place. The isle of Batavia was famous in ancient times. Lying between Gaul and Germany, it afforded convenient opportunities for carrying on the operations of war. The inhabitants were originally a people of the Cattians. Having formed an alliance with the Romans, they furnished levies, and were subject to no other burthen; distinguished by their skill in horsemanship, their dexterity in swimming, and their bravery no less

than their fidelity. When Civilis, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, excited them to a revolt, and roused the people of Gaul to assert their liberty, they carried on the war with undaunted valour. *Antiquis temporibus nobilissima fuit Batavorum insula. Germanis Gallisque media, positu ad ducendum transmittendumque bellum opportunissimo. Nomen habitatoribus et origo a Cattis. Ramanâ societate, extra dilectus, cætera sui juris egere; equitandi, nandi peritia, fide, virtute auxiliarium honoratissimi. Nec minus clari eo bello, quo, sub initia Vespasiani Civili duce, Gallias ad libertatem excitarunt.* Grotius goes on to give a description of the isle of Batavia. The Rhine, he says, branching off into the Vahal, and flowing also in another channel, where it still retained his own name, embraced the island of Batavia, and through two different mouths discharged itself into the ocean. That which lay to the right, and opened to the sea near Leyden, being narrow and scanty, was in time lost in the Leck and a waste of sand. The other branch of the river, which ran into the Vahal, flowed into the Meuse, and through that opening emptied itself into the German Ocean. At present, before it reaches the mouth of the Meuse, it washes a number of islands, and, being frequently swelled by inundations from the sea, it spreads a surface more like a sea than the current of a river. The third channel, through which the Rhine flows on the right hand further toward the north, was the military work of Drusus. The river falling through that artificial canal into the Issel, and thence into the lakes, which divide the two nations of the Frisians, contracted its current near the isle of Flevus, and took the name of that place during the rest of its course into the ocean. But the face of this whole country has been so changed by inundations, that now the whole body of water looks more like an irruption of the sea, than the bed of a river. *Eam insulam Rhenus in Vahalim et sui nominis alveum distinctus, et duobus maxime capitibus in oceanum influens, amplectitur. Dextrum Lugdumo non procul exibat, olim etiam tenue, post vi tempestatis sabulo obstructum, aquas in Leccam vertit. Sinistro Mosæ mixtus Vahalis ostio tenus ripis continebatur. Hodie, antequam eo perveniat, varias insulas interfusus, ob crebra diluvia*

in maris speciem transiit. Tertium Rheno ostium, quod a dextro longius in Septentriones abit, Drusus aperuit. Nam in Isalam flumen perductus amnis opere militari, inde se immergens in lacus, quibus Frisiorum nationes distinebantur, arctatusque apud Flevum insulam, hoc eodem accepto nomine in oceanum effluebat. Cæterum et hæc facies locorum ita mutata est, ut non emitti fluvius, sed contra, mare terras irrupisse, et, angusto primum ingressu, laxare mox se in spatium ingentis sinus videbatur. The bay or gulf mentioned by Grotius, is called a lake by Tacitus, and now bears the name of *Zuiderzee*. Heylin, in his *Cosmography*, gives to the Rhine four openings into the sea. The first is called the Wael, which, running through Gelderland by Nimmegen, loses itself in the Maes; the second, which keeps the name of the Rhine, passes by Arnhem, and thence into a contracted channel to Utrecht, and so through Holland and Leyden. The third called the Leck, takes its course through the provinces of Utrecht and Holland, and so into the sea betwixt Dort and Rotterdam. And the fourth, called the Yssell, which passing by the towns of Zulphen and Deventer, betwixt Gelderland and Over-Yssell, empties itself into the ocean near Amsterdam. Heylin, p. 310. From these accounts it is evident, that the Vahal, or Wael, flowed on the western side of Batavia; but which of the other two, according to Tacitus and Grotius, or the three, according to Heylin, washed the right hand side of the island, remains uncertain. The commentators are agreed, that the name of the island, which was probably latinised by the Romans, implied a flat marshy country; and, to confirm their opinion, they observe that there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low swampy district called BETUVE.

(*b*) The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Visurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Weteravie and partly in Hesse. Brotier says, Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and that the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

(c) The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built, and all their wealth consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and, being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. Cicero says, the whole soil of Sicily is decuman. *Omnis ager Siciliæ decumanus est.* The tithe of their products was the tribute usually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary submission to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new settlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expressly says, was defended from the incursions of the Germans by a chain of posts. Tacitus wrote his Treatise in the second consulship of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected by Drusus, and the several commanders in Germany. Hadrian raised a rampart, which extended from Neustadt, on the banks of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpsen, a space of sixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie says, subsisted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withstand the irruption of the German nations. Those fierce invaders bore down all opposition, till the emperor Probus checked their progress, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raised with wood and turf, built a stone wall to repress the enemy. The design was grand, but it proved ineffec-

tual. About the beginning of the third century of the Christian æra, the Germans began to see, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general interest was in danger. The spirit of liberty was roused and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS; a word that signified FREEMEN. Towards the southern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the stone wall of Probus, established another confederation, under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people, ALL MEN; *omnes viri*. In the following verses of Claudian we find that poet no stranger to the name of the *Franks* and the *Allamanni*.

——— Pavidoque orantes murmure FRANCI
Procubuêre solo. Juratur Hoporius absens,
Imploratque tuum supplex ALAMANNIA nomen.
DE IV. CONSULAT. HONORII, v. 447.

In the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who possessed themselves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA. The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALMAGNE, and the Germans, les ALESMANS. See *Alsatia Illustrata*, tom. i. p. 174 and 241.

SECTION XXX.

(*a*) The territory of the Mattiaci is said by the commentators to have been between the Rhine, the Mayne, the River Sala, and part of the Hercynian Forest near the Weser, now the countries of Hesse, Thuringia, part of Paderborn, and Franconia. Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that the people were called Catti, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

(*b*) Brotier quotes a passage from Vegetius, in which that author gives a lively description of the form and structure of body proper for a soldier. Let the youth intended for a martial life have a quick piercing eye, a neck firm and erect, an open chest, broad and muscular shoulders, strong fingers, a length of arm, the belly not too prominent, legs well shaped, without superfluous flesh either on the calf or the foot, well braced with hard and close compacted sinews. Vegetius, lib. i. cap. 6.

(*c*) This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength; and accordingly Livy says it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of the commonwealth. *Ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse.* Livy, lib. ii. Florus expresses a similar thought with his usual brevity; *Tanti exercitus, quanti imperator.* Lib. ii. cap. 18. The value of an army is in proportion to the skill of the general. Quintilian agrees with the two historians; he says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors; our attention to discipline; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms. Quintilian, *Pro Milite*, Declam. iii. s. 14.

Section XXXI.

(*d*) Vows of this kind occur in the history of various nations. In the days of chivalry the same custom prevailed, and manifestly owed its origin to the practice of the Germans, who overran all Europe. He who undertook a bold enterprise, or thirsted for re-

venge, made a vow never to sleep in a bed, or take off his clothes day or night, till he had executed his grand design. Upon this principle Civilis, the Batavian chief, curtails his hair and beard as soon as he had performed his promise. See Tacitus, *History*, b. iv. s. 61. Lipsius, in his note on that passage, mentions from the History of the Langobards six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. Brotier relates the same fact from Warnefrid's *History of the Lombards*, b. iii. ch. 7. This practice of encouraging the growth of the hair was known to Silius Italicus; and accordingly that poet mentions, among the slain in one of his battles, a Gaul, who had bound himself by a similar vow, never to be shorn till he returned victorious from the field of battle.

> Occumbit Sarmens, flavam qui ponere victor
> Cæsariem, crinemque tibi, Gradive, vovebat
> Auro certantem, et rutilum sub vertice nodum.
>
> Bell. Punic. lib. iv. v. 200.

A modern instance of this custom occurs in Strada's *History of the wars between Spain and the United Provinces*. After relating at some length the charge against Egmont and Horn, with their sentence and execution, the historian adds, that William Lume, one of the counts of Marc, bound himself by a barbarian vow (as Civilis the Batavian chief had formerly done in his war with the Romans) not to divest himself of his hair, till he obtained revenge for the deaths of the two slaughtered heroes. Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. vii. p. 338. Grotius relates the same event with the brevity of his master Tacitus. Egmont and Horn, he says, two men no less distinguished by their martial exploits than by their illustrious birth, were brought forth at Brussels as soon as mass was ended, and, by order of the duke of Alva, executed on a public scaffold. Their heads, affixed to two high poles, exhibited a public spectacle, which the Dutch beheld with horror. A band of soldiers under arms overawed the common people, and con-

——————— venit accola Sylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ.

De IV. Consul. Honorii, v. 450.

It is still to be observed, that neither this passage in Claudian, not that in Pliny's letter, has fixed the place where the Bructerians resided. If, according to the poet, they were contiguous to the Hercynian Forest, it confirms what Tacitus says, that they were driven from their territory. Wherever they dwelt, there is reason to conclude that they were still a people. The report to the contrary seems to have had no foundation. Eccard (*De Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. p. 304.) says, they settled between Cologne and Hesse, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

(*b*) The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia (the Ems), supposed to be Lingen and Osnabrug. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis (the Weser), where at present are Minden and Shawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier says, they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus (see s. xxix. note *a*), and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. *Above sixty thousand of the Germans*, he says, *lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions, who beheld that scene of blood.* The ambition of the Romans aiming always at universal dominion, it was part of their policy to give the name of barbarians to the nations that did not tamely submit to their victorious arms. The combats of their gladiators enured them to blood and carnage from their very infancy; and, by consequence, they considered the race of men as so many victims, who were to bleed for the ambition of a people who

aspired to be the governors of the world. To conquer the proud (*debellare superbos*) was a state maxim, and moral virtue gave way to fierce ambition. There is a passage in Livy not unlike what is said by Tacitus, but not delivered with the same harshness of expression. A contention, he says, arose between the Volsci and the Æqui, each claiming a right to name a commander in chief for their confederate army. A violent sedition followed, and the consequence was a bloody engagement, in which the good fortune of the Roman people destroyed two armies of the enemy. *Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Æquine imperatorem conjuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox prœlium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus, haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine, confecit.* Livy, lib. ii. s. 40.

Section XXXIV.

(*a*) It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe, and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii: see Peterc. lib. ii. s. 105. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansiberii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amsibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

(*b*) The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus *entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. Annals*, b. ii. s. 8. It has been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland and Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf, in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the Ems).

The name of the Frisians seems to be preserved in that of FRIESLAND, the most northern of the United Provinces.

(*c*) One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all Friesland under water. In that flood no less than 20,000 persons lost their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules stood can not now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open sea lay beyond it, was in ancient times said to be the spot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend that the spot intended by Tacitus was on the coast of the Frisians; others will have it to be the point of the CIMBRIAN CHERSONESUS, now Jutland.

(*d*) Drusus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. See the *Genealogical Table of the Cæsars*, vol. iii. No. 79. History ascribes to him the most amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of *Augustus*, he was in sentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He imposed a tribute on the Frisians (see *Annals*, b. iv. s. 72), and, in order to explore the German Ocean, sailed as far as the point of Jutland: but the art of navigation being then little understood, he did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempestuous sea.

(*e*) Tacitus, perhaps, alluded to the precept of the philosopher, who said, *Worship God, believe in him, but do not presume to investigate his nature:* DEUM COLE, ATQUE CREDE,-SED NOLI QUÆRERE. The ancients, says La Bletterie, thought it presumptuous to inquire too far into the mysteries of nature; and the moderns do not spare the mysteries of religion.

SECTION XXXV.

(*a*) The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems

(Amisia) to the Elbe (Albis), and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the Visurgis (the Weser). The former dwelt (as appears in *Annals*, b. ii. s. 18 and 19) between the Ems and the Weser; the latter on the north-east side of the Weser, between that river and the Elbe. Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above the high water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and sea-weed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water, collected in ditches around their huts, is their only drink. *Sunt vero in Septemtrione visæ nobis gentes Chaucorum, qui Majores Minoresque appellantur. Vasto ibi meatu, bis dierum noctiumque singularum intervallis, effusus in immensum agitur oceanus, æternam operiens rerum naturæ controversiam, dubiumque terra sit, an pars maris. Illic misera gens tumulos obtinet altos, aut tribunalia structa manibus ad experimenta altissimi æstus casis ita impositis. Non pecudem his habere, non lacte ali, ne cum feris quidem dimicare contigit, omni procul abacto frutice. Ulvâ et palustri junco funes nectunt ad prætexenda piscibus retia; captumque manibus lutum ventis magis quam sole siccantes: hac terrâ cibos et rigentia Septemtrione viscera sua urunt. Potus non nisi ex imbre servato scrobibus in vestibulo domus.* Pliny, lib. xvi. s. 1. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an observation natural in the mouth of a man, who, with the rest of his country, thought that Rome, as mistress of the world, had a right to give laws to the nations round her, and that subjection was the duty of barbarians. If, he says, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans,

they would call it slavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune spares some nations, but her mercy is the severest punishment. She leaves them to their misery. *Et hæ gentes, si vincantur hodie populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita est profectò: multis Fortuna parcit in pœnam.* Pliny, it should seem, thought luxury a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worst lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains smile.* Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he says, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often sought by the Romans at the risk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian blessing.*

—— Fugiens civile nefas, redituraque nunquam
Libertas ultra Tigrim Rhenumque recessit,
Ac, toties nobis jugulo quæsita, negatur,
GERMANUM SCYTHICUMQUE BONUM!

LUCAN. lib. vii. v. 432.

(*b*) The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts. Lucan alludes to those garrisons; but he gives the people a new name, that of CAYCI.

Et vos crinigeros bellis arcere Caycos
Oppositi.

Lib. i. v. 463.

You too tow'rds Rome advance, ye warlike band,
That wont the shaggy Cauci to withstand.

ROWE'S LUCAN, b. i. s. 811.

SECTION XXXVI.

(*a*) The territory of the Cheruscans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Lunebourg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenbourg. Armi-

nius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and violent spirit of Arminius, as appears in the speech of Segestes, *Annals*, b. i. s. 58. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

(*b*) This is the only place in which Tacitus makes mention of the Fosi. Cluverius and others suppose that they were the same as the ancient Saxons. But this opinion does not seem to be well supported. According to Ptolemy, the Saxons inhabited the country of Holstein at the entrance of the Cimbrian Chersonesus, or Jutland. The name of the Saxons could not be mentioned by Tacitus; it was not known till long after his time, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, when in conjunction with the ANGLES, they issued from their hive, and afterwards became masters of Britain. The Fosi were a different people. They bordered on the Cheruscans near the Elbe; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

SECTION XXXVII.

(*a*) The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswic and Holstein. In the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian æra, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having

spread terror and devastation through the country, resolved to push their conquest into Italy. They sent a deputation to the senate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promising fidelity. It appears in the Epitome of Livy, lxv. that, the senate having refused to enter into any compromise with such bold invaders, the new consul, Marcus Silanus, marched against them. The Cimbri stormed his entrenchments, pillaged the camp, and put almost the whole army to the sword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman generals, who lost their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not hesitate to say, that Rome was on the brink of destruction, had there not existed in that age a Marius, to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military skill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the place then called Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provençe), and gained a complete victory. Livy says (Epitome, lxviii), that no less than two hundred thousand of the enemy were slain in the action. The whole nation perished. Florus adds, that their king THEUTOBOCHUS was taken prisoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immense stature, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an astonishing spectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, passed over the Alps, and made a descent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having crossed that river, in spite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, spread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and sent to Marius a second time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius answered, that, "their brethren, the Teutones, already possessed "more than they desired, and that they would not easily quit what "had been assigned to them." Enraged by this taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a decisive action. Florus says, that their vigour was relaxed by the soft clime of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus, at a place called Rhaudium, on the east side of the river Lessites, which runs from the Alpes Graiæ, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the life of Marius,

above one hundred and forty thousand of the Cimbri perished in the engagement. Mention has already been made (s. viii. note *a*) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they saw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They dashed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by destroying themselves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The reader, who desires to see the history of that transaction more in detail, will find it related with accuracy and elegance in Mons. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 22. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, said to have been destroyed by Marius in his two engagements, would seem incredible, were it not in some degree explained by Florus, who says that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the sea to seek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. *Cum terras eorum inundasset oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quærebant*. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 3. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, says, that the number of fighting men was 300,000, besides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued so depopulated, that, at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itself. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons issued from their northern hive, as Sir William Temple calls it, to establish their Anglo-Saxon government in this island.

(*b*) Oriental despotism was not able to shake the solid strength of the Roman republic. Parthia was divided by a long tract of country, and by the Mediterranean Sea. The brilliant splendour of the Arsacidæ might glitter in the eyes of courtiers, whose ambition aimed at honours and marks of distinction, and the people were dazzled by the glory of their monarch. But glory, though it is the principle that unites the subjects in support of despotism, is weak and powerless, when opposed to the virtue of a republic, or the love of freedom that pervades a fierce and savage nation. The latter is a passion implanted by the hand of nature; the motives of slaves are all artificial. The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the splen-

dour of the imperial diadem, and, by consequence, riveted their own chains. It is true that Crassus and his whole army were cut to pieces: but the Parthians delivered hostages to the Romans, and their princes received their sceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fierce resistance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a space of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory and alternate slaughter. Arminius roused his countrymen against the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Asia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of despotism, might continue to crouch in bondage; but as to himself and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus slavery was driven out of Germany. Those were the sentiments that inflamed the martial spirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he prosecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his History. The historian, most probably, foresaw that German liberty would in the end accomplish the ruin of the empire; and that foreknowledge, perhaps, extorted from him the fervent prayer which he offers up (s. xxxiii.) for the continuation of civil discord among the enemies of Rome. The triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Christian æra 476, Odoacer overturned the western empire, and left the last of the emperors to languish in a castle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century, Charlemagne, king of the Franks, caused one of his sons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progress of his arms, proved what Tacitus has said, that German liberty is more vigorous than eastern despotism. See Charlemagne's Preface to the Salic Law, a monument of antiquity which, Brotier says, is seldom inspected even by the curious. For that reason he has given it at length in his notes on this section of Tacitus.

(c) The slaughter of Crassus and his army is well known: but in revenge, Pacorus, son of Orodes, the Parthian king, was put

to death, and the kingdom was reduced to a lower condition than even that of Ventidius, who gained a complete victory. Tacitus says, *infra Ventidium dejectus oriens*, alluding to the meanness of that officer's first employment: he let out mules for hire, and was afterwards raised to the consulship by Antony the triumvir. Upon that occasion a libel was fixed up in the public places at Rome, stating, as a kind of prodigy, that the man who dressed mules was made a consul:

> Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens;
> Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est.

The victory obtained by this man (see Florus, lib. iv. s. 9) places the weakness of the Parthians in a clear point of view. But the loss of so many Roman consuls, with their armies, shows the warlike genius of the Germans. Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians with his whole army. Livy, Epitome lxiii. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. C. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Cæsar, b. i. s. 12. See Livy, Epitome lxv.

(*d*) Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, and Cneius Maulius consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. Livy, Epit. lxvii. Florus, lib. iii. s. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. s. 12. This last defeat happened A. U. C. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the republic. *Quinque simul consulares exercitus* POPULO ROMANO *abstulerunt*. He adds,

that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS VARUS, GIVE ME BACK MY LEGIONS." Sueton. in *Augusto*, s. 23. See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied. *Annals*, b. i. s. 61.

(*e*) Marius, as has been mentioned, triumphed over the Teutones and the Cimbri. See s. xxxvii. note (*a*).

(*f*) During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Batavian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conspiracy; and, acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with his masters. What he attempted was reserved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Nassau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterprising spirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the history of Tacitus, book iv. He was at length abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general. An imperfect account of this transaction may be seen in what remains of the fifth book of the History, which has suffered by the injury of time.

SECTION XXXVIII.

(*a*) The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and east-

ward from the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and, being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of ALAMANNI (see this Tract, s. xxix. note (*c*), The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni; and hence the country, which, after the destruction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamannia and Suabia.

(*b*) It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their head and shoulders. Seneca mentions the ruddy hair of the Germans gathered into a knot; but he does not call it a general custom: he only says it was not deemed unmanly. *Nec rufus crinis et coactus in nodum apud Germanos virum dedecet.* Seneca, *De Irâ*, lib. iii. cap. 26. Martial, in his first book (epigram iii.) on the public spectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot:

Crinibus in nodum tortis venêre Sicambri.

In a passage already cited from Silius Italicus (s. xxxi. note (*a*) that poet mentions the ruddy hair tied up into a knot. *Et rutilum sub vertice nodum.*

SECTION XXXIX.

(*a*) The Semnones occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the ODER), with part of Pomerania, Brandenbourg, and also of Silesia. The late king of Prussia has thrown great light on the history of the Semnones. See his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenbourg.*

(*b*) The belief of a Supreme God, the governor of the universe, has been from the earliest time common to all nations, however

rude and barbarous. It is well known to have been the persuasion of the Scythians, from whom the Germans derived their origin; and it is also known that the Scythians offered humans sacrifices. Accordingly we find the Semnones addicted to the same barbarous rites. The old treatise of Icelandic mythology, entitled the EDDA, shows that the Scandinavians believed in a Supreme Deity, "the author of every thing that exists; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being; the searcher into concealed things. the Being that never changeth." See Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 78. That the Americans believed in a God and a future state, appears in Charlevoix and other travellers. This concurring opinion of all mankind is observed by Cicero, who says, there never was a people so rude, so savage, and so sunk in ignorance, as not to be impressed with the idea of a supreme all-ruling mind. The conceptions of men are, indeed, gross and extravagant; but still all acknowledge a superior Being, and a divinity that stirs within them. *Nulla gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio. Multi de diis prava sentiunt: omnes tamen esse vim et naturam divinam arbitrantur.* *Tuscul. Quæstion.* lib. i. s. 13.

SECTION XL.

(*a*) The Langobards are supposed, in the time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenbourg and Magdebourg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says, they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. *Fracti Langobardi; gens etiam Germaná ferocitate ferocior.* Vell. Pat. lib. ii. cap. 106. Suetonius (*Life of Augustus*, s. 21,) says, they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of seve-

ral centuries they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country, which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

(*b*) With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to guide us at this distant period. Brotier supposes that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenbourg and Lawenbourg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenbourg, near a river, which, after their name, is called AVA by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenbourg, where the city of Waren stands at present. The Eudosians, the Nuithones, and Suardonians are almost lost in the mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleswick In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition to Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

(*c*) As Tacitus is here speaking of the adoration paid to a goddess by the several nations whose names have been enumerated, it is not probable that, in latinizing a barbarous word, he should give it a masculine termination. The text says, HERTHUM, *id est, Terram Matrem colunt.* So, it seems, the word stands in all the manuscripts; and yet, it may be presumed, that the author wrote HERTHAM. The name in all the northern languages signifies earth; in the ancient Gothic, *airtha;* in the Anglo-Saxon, *eorthe, ertha, hertha;* in English, *earth.* See *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 92. The worship of Mother Earth has been common in all unenlightened nations. We read in a Latin historian, that a tremor of the earth being felt when two armies were in the heat of battle, Sempronius, the Roman general, bound himself by a vow to build a temple to the goddess. *Tremente inter prælium campo, Tellurem deam promissâ, æde placavit.* Florus, lib. i. cap. 19. The deity that presided over the air and the elements, was supposed to be the FATHER of all, and the earth the MOTHER. This is clearly expressed by Lucretius:

Postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos PATER ÆTHER
In gremium MATRIS TERRAI præcipitavit.
Lib. iv. 251.

The same author, in another place, describes those two parents producing corn and fruit, and the whole human race.

Omnibus ille idem PATER est, unde alma liquentes
Humorum guttas cum MATER TERRA recepit.
Fœta parit nitidas fruges, arbustaque læta,
Et genus humanum. Lib. ii. 991.

This idea of a creative power was not confined to Greece and Rome. "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the same as *Frica*, or *Frea*, the wife of Odin, mother of the gods; she was also known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the *goddess* of love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by some of the Scythian nations, JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS and BENDIS; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the supreme God; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 91 and 95. A festival in honour of MOTHER EARTH was instituted by the Scandinavians, and fixed at the first quarter of the second moon of the year. Mallet says, they sacrificed to the goddess the largest hog they could get. That the same worship was paid by the rude inhabitants of Italy, we have the authority of Horace in the Epistle to Augustus.

TELLUREM PORCO, Sylvanum lacte piabant.

(*d*) Cluverius pretends, that the island intended by Tacitus is the isle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic sea, on the coast of Pomerania. He mentions a forest on the island, in the midst of which was a vast lake, always an object of superstition. La Bletterie observes, that Helmoldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the isle of RUGEN the centre of paganism, till the missionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Christian religion did not long prevail. The islanders relapsing into their former errors, banished the priests, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worship. And yet, as Tacitus places this island in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (see s. xliii.), without ascribing to them the same religious rites, it is more likely to have been the isle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The Angles (from whom our English ancestors derived their name) were seated on this coast; and Arnkiel hath shown, in his Cimbric Antiquities, that the ancient Germans held this island in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND signifies "Holy Land." See Pelloutier, *Histoire des Celtes*, tom. ii. chap. 18. Other learned men pretend that the isle in question was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important. *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 93.

SECTION XLI.

(*a*) We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this treatise. In the first the author has given a striking picture of the general manners of the whole nation, considered as a people living under the influence of the same rough northern climate. From the beginning of section xxviii. he has traced the several states from the head of the Rhine, in the country of the GRISONS, along the western side of Germany to where it branches off, and forms the isle of Batavia. From that place Tacitus has traced the several nations to the Elbe, and along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula, the eastern boundary of Germany. In this third division of the work he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country,

where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia,) which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the country of the Grisons), where they enjoyed a free intercourse, was most probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Ausbourg). Vindelica was a part of Rhætia. The liberty of passing and re-passing within the limits of the empire, without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be seen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: the earth, they say, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred against us; and, to the disgrace of men born to the use of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceless, naked, in the custody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted. *Ut, quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes, ac propè nudi, sub custode et pretio coiremus.* See *Hist.* b. iv. s. 64.

(*b*) Tacitus is supposed in this place to be guilty of a geographical mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise. If so, Tacitus has made no mis-

take. There is a river, called the EGRA, which rises in Suabia, and this, it is supposed by some of the commentators, Tacitus confounded with the source of the Elbe; a river more known by the victories of Drusus and Tiberius, than by any discoveries made by the Romans since the days of those two commanders.

SECTION XLII.

(*a*) The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria.

(*b*) The Marcomannians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemburg, in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumstance of their being settled on the borders of Germany, the word MARC signifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike people, but, in the reign of VALENTINIAN and VALENS, a nation of little consequence. See Ammianus Marcellinus, b. xxix. ch. 15.

(*c*) Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see *Annals*, b. ii. s. 46: and see Velleius Paterculus, who says, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to subdue the neighbouring states, or by conventions to reduce them to subjection. *Maroboduus, natione magis quam ratione barbarus, finitimos omnes aut bello domuit, aut conditionibus sui juris fecit.* Lib ii. s. 108. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a state prisoner at Ravenna during a space of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing gray in disgrace and misery. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

(*d*) We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome, to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*, b. ii. s. 63. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it sufficient to promise the German king a safe retreat, if the insurgents prevailed against him. *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29. We read in Dio, b. lxvii. that the Lygians, harassed in Mysia by the Suevians, sent their ambassadors to solicit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

Section XLIII.

(*a*) History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The *Marsignians* dwelt on the north-east of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (*now* the Oder), which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenbourg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia, and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack Mountains, and the sources of the Vistula.

(*b*) Ptolemy mentions iron-mines in or near the country of the Quadians. The Gothinians laboured in those mines, and had therefore, says Tacitus, more reason to be ashamed of their submission. This is well explained by Ernest, the German editor: they had iron, and did not make use of it to assert their liberty. The answer of Solon to Crœsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

(c) These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia, and Bohemia.

(d) The nation of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia and Poland as far as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus, *Annals*, b. xii. s. 29.

(e) The situation of these several tribes can not be stated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenbourg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Vistula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Silesia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology seems to be strained, and how it is supported does not merit further inquiry.

(f) It has been observed (s. ix. note a), that the Greeks and Romans amused themselves with a discovery of their own deities in the various objects of superstitious veneration among the barbarous nations, which their arms had overawed or conquered. The Romans worshipped Castor and Pollux, as two stars propitious to mariners: Horace calls them *Fratres Helenæ, Lucida sydera;* but it is not probable that the Naharvalians ever heard of the Roman mythology. During a storm they saw meteors and glittering lights on the sails and masts of ships. Considering those exhalations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phænomenon, and paid their adoration to it. Seneca has described it with exactness: in storms he says, Castor and Pollux shine like stars on the sails of the vessel, and the mariners then conceived that they are favoured by those deities. *In magnâ tempestate apparent quasi stellæ velo insidentes: adjuvari se tum periclitantes existimant Pollucis et Castoris numine.* Sen. *Natural. Quæst.* lib. i. s. 1. The Naharvalians, who dwelt near the Baltic, were all acquainted with this *ignis fatuus*, and called it, in their own language, by the name of *Alff*, or *Alp*, which, according to Keysler (see his *Celtic Antiquities*), is still the term among the northern nations for the genii of the moun-

tains. Tacitus, it is most likely, changed the word to ALCIS; but that the Greek and Roman Castor and Pollux entered into the idea of rude barbarians, is a supposition too improbable. The Germans worshipped, as Cæsar says, those objects of sight by which they were benefited; they saw the operations of nature, and thought them the immediate effect of a deity presiding in that department. The Greeks and Romans did the same. When they found among barbarians a god of war, a god of thunder, or a goddess of love, they found their own divinities, and made their religion universal. The late Dr. Musgrave, in his Dissertation on the Grecian Mythology, was aware of this national vanity, and, accordingly, observes that the Greeks were sagacious enough to find out their own gods in Persia, notwithstanding the known contrariety of the two religions. The Persians, we are told, worshipped JUPITER under the name of OROMASDES; HADES under the name of ARAMANIUS; and VENUS under the name of MITRA. It was the same with respect to the Romans and the Gauls. The many peculiar superstitions of the druids were so totally foreign to all that we know of the Romans, as to preclude every *idea of* one nation having borrowed from the other. Yet Cæsar *does not* hesitate to say, that the Gauls worshipped APOLLO, MARS, JUPITER, and MINERVA; meaning, as may be supposed, certain gods corresponding in their attributes to those so denominated by his countrymen. The gods of Scandinavia were in later times consubstantiated, in like manner, with the gods of Latium; but no one will pretend that their WODEN, THOR, and FRICA were copies of JUPITER, MERCURY, and VENUS. And yet, when the Goths came to intermix with the Romans, they found resemblance enough between their gods to translate each of those words *by* the other, and this custom appears so universal, that we have no other way of rendering WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY into Latin, but by calling them DIES MERCURII, JOVIS, and VENERIS. See Musgrave on the *Græcian Mythology*, p. 13—15. Hence we may conclude, that though Tacitus finds CASTOR and POLLUX among a race of savages bordering on the Baltic, it was, notwithstanding, nothing more than some of the attributes of those

mythological deities, whom a gross and ignorant people worshipped under the name of ALFF, or ALP, changed by the Roman author into the word ALCIS. But it is observable, that Tacitus throws from himself what is said in the text of CASTOR and POLLUX, since he adds expressly, that he follows the Roman interpretation: *interpretatione Romana Castorem ollucemque memorant*. Whoever is desirous to have a clear idea of the German and Scandinavian gods, will find a full account in the *Northern Antiquities*, vol. i. ch. 6; as also in Schedius, *De Diis Germanis*. It is evident in Verstegan's *British Antiquities*, that the German and other northern nations worshipped the Sun and Moon, whence were derived Sunday and Monday; and also TUISTO, WODEN, THOR, FRICA or FREA, and SEATER, called Saturn by the Roman writers; and thence we have Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, formed in regular succession, from the deities above enumerated. In that rude system of theology, the national vanity of the Greeks and Romans found Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, and the rest. See this tract, s. ix. note (*a*).

(*g*) The custom of painting the body has been in general use among all savage nations, for ornament as well as terror in the day of battle. Cæsar says, the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a blue cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. s. 14. The elder Pliny (b. xxii. s. 1) mentions the same custom among the Dacians and Sarmatians. It is almost superfluous to say that the Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the custom of painting their bodies and their shields. For an account of the same practice among the tribes of North America, see Creuxius, *Historia Canadensis*, p. 70.

(*h*) The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland. If they were not the same as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were, most probably, in alliance with that famous people.

(i) The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of RUGENWALD and the isle of RUGEN are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIG. History has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the last mentioned people, and were the first of the Germans who, under ODOACER, established themselves in Italy; but with regard to the Rugians there are no lights to guide us.

SECTION XLIV.

(a) The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Fumen, Langland, Zeeland, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy. The GOTHS and VISIGOTHS, and OSTROGOTHS overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promised itself an eternal duration, and boasted of the immovable stone of the capitol: *capitoli immobile saxum.* The laws of the Visigoths are still extant, but they have not the simplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean; *ipso in oceano.* Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was supposed to be an island. Pliny says, that the Baltic Sea (which he calls CODANUS SINUS) is filled with a number of islands, of which Scandinavia is the largest; but no more than a small portion of it was known to the Romans. Pliny, lib. iv. s. 13.

(b) The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at Wisby, the capital city of the isle of Gothland. The North American tribes build their canoes in the same form. The extremities terminate in two sharp points; so that, in order to go backward, the canoemen have only to change offices. He who

remains behind steers with his oar. All the canoes, the smallest not excepted, carry sail, and with a favourable wind make twenty leagues a day. Charlevoix, letter xii.

(*c*) The love of money is here assigned as the cause of that state of slavery in which the Suiones were content to live. The observation is worthy of Tacitus, who upon this occasion called to mind the good old republic, and knew that the great revolution that happened, was occasioned by a total change of principle; that is, by substituting a passion for riches in the room of ancient virtue. As a proof of the vast wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen (*Ecclesiastical History*, ch. 233) describes a temple built at Ubsola (now Upsal), not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he says, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worship the statues of their principal gods. THOR is seated on a couch, with WODEN on one side, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden, rose out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is said by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this seems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of submission.

SECTION XLV.

(*a*) The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81, can scarce be deemed navigable. That this sea was meant by Tacitus is by no means certain. It is more probable that he had in contemplation the northern extremity of the Baltic Sea, with the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia, which are frozen every winter, and, consequently, impracticable to mariners.

(*b*) It is well known that in the northern climates, the sun, in some latitudes, is above the horizon during the four-and-twenty hours; in others still more to the north, an entire month, and at the Pole full six months. Astronomy was not well understood in the days of Tacitus: hence the idea of the sun emerging out of the

sea, and the horses of the god being visible. Tacitus has given a poetical description, like that in Juvenal (sat. xiv. v. 280), which mentions the sun hissing in the Herculean gulf.

Audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.

(*c*) The ancients thought that the ocean was the boundary of nature, and that no land lay beyond it. Thus Curtius, speaking of the Indian Ocean, says, that Nature can proceed no further. *Ne Naturam quidem longius posse procedere.* Lib. ix. s. 28. He afterwards talks of Alexander's entering that sea, which Nature designed as the utmost limit of the habitable world. *Licebit decurrere in illud mare, quod rebus humanis terminum voluit esse Natura.* Lib. ix. s. 8.

(*d*) The Æstyans inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of opinion that they were called ÆSTYI, from the word EST, because they were situated on the eastern side of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea. Their language bore an affinity to the British, because the people, lying contiguous to Sarmatia, retained the Scythico-Celtic dialect, which was for a long time in use among the Britons.

(*e*) FREA, or FRICA, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. See *Northern Antiquities*, and s. xi. note (*c*). Brotier says, that vestiges of their symbolic representation are still subsisting in Sweden, where the peasants, in the month of February (the season formerly sacred to FREA), make boars of paste, and use them in superstitious ceremonies. See Eccard, *De Rebus Franciæ orientalis*, tom. i. p. 409.

(*f*) Pliny (b. xxxviii. s. 3.) agrees with Tacitus, that amber, or *succinum*, was by the Germans called *glessum;* a word latinized from GLESS, or GLASS. He says, that it was found in great quantities in the islands of the northern seas, and that one of those

islands, remarkably productive, was known by the name of *Glessaria*. The Greeks used the word *electrum* for amber, and thence gave to the places that produced that substance the name of ELECTRIDES; but, confounding the VENETI (now the Venetians) with the VENEDI, who dwelt on the borders of Sarmatia, and were the conveyors of amber into Italy, they erroneously supposed that the substance, which they so much admired, was gathered on the banks of the ERIDANUS, now the Po. Adopting that mistake, the poets feigned that the sisters of Phaeton were converted into poplars, and that their tears, distilling through the pores of the trees, formed the concretion, which served to embellish the dress of the Roman ladies.

> Inde fluunt lachrymæ; stillataque sole rigescunt
> De ramis electra novis, quæ lucidus amnis
> Excipit, et nuribus mittit gestanda Latinis.
>
> METAMORPH. lib. ii. v. 364.

Authors make mention of other places, besides the banks of the Po, where amber is gathered; such as the coast of Marseilles, and divers parts of Asia, Africa, and even America; but Hartman, who wrote the *History of the Prussian Amber*, treats all those accounts as fables, and denies *amber* to be found any where but in the northern countries of Europe, viz. Poland, Silesia, Jutland, Holstein, and Denmark; but most of all in Prussia, where the amber gathered on the coast yields that prince a handsome revenue. See Chambers's *Dictionary*, verbo *Amber*.

(*g*) Naturalists are much divided as to the origin of *amber*, and to what class of bodies it belongs; some referring it to the vegetable, others to the mineral, and some even to the animal kingdom. Its natural history, and its chemical analysis, afford something in favour of each opinion. Some have imagined it a concretion of the tears of birds, or the urine of certain beasts; and others, a congelation formed in the Baltic Sea, or in fountains, where it is found swimming like pitch. On the other hand, it is

supposed by many to be a bitumen trickling into the sea from subterraneous sources, and, when concreted, thrown ashore by the waves. This last opinion seems now to be discarded. Many contend, that it is produced in Prussia by mixing with the vitriolic salts abounding in that country, and, its fluidity being fixed, it congeals into what we call *amber*. The chemists are as much divided as the naturalists: some of them refer it to the class of sulphurs or bitumens, while others contend that it is of the vegetable kind, from its resolving into the same principles with vegetables, viz. water, spirit, salt, and oil. See Chambers's *Dictionary*. To decide between so many contending parties is not the business of these annotations; but that amber is not a mineral or subterraneous substance, may be inferred from the spiders, ants, and bees, and other insects, which are almost universally found in the transparent body. Pope, in his satirical style, has said,

> Pretty in *amber* to observe the forms
> Of hairs, and straws, and dirt, and grubs, and worms;
> The things we know are neither rich nor rare,
> But wonder how the devil they got there.

If the authority of another poet may be admitted, Martial has removed the wonder. He tells us, in three beautiful epigrams, that amber is a distillation from the branches of the poplar; that in its fluid state it catches various insects, and afterwards, hardening into a solid substance, incloses them in a tomb that enhances their value. The classical reader will, perhaps, be pleased to find Martial's elegant verses inserted in this place. The first is on a bee inclosed in amber:

> Et latet, et lucet Phaëtontide condita gutta,
> Ut videatur apis nectare clausa suo:
> Dignum tantorum pretium tulit illa laborum,
> Credibile est ipsam sic voluisse mori.
>
> Lib. iv. epig. 32.

The second describes a viper caught in the the transparent substance, where it has a nobler tomb than Cleopatra.

Flentibus Heliadum ramis dum vipera serpit,
  Fluxit in obstantem succina gemma feram.
Quæ dum miratur pinguicse rore teneri,
  Concreto riguit vincta repente gelu.
Ne tibi regali placeas, Cleopatra, sepulchro,
  Vipera si tumulo nobiliore jacet.

Lib. iv. epig. 59.

The third epigram describes an ant entombed in the same manner:

Dum Phaëtonteâ formica vagatur in umbra,
  Implicuit tenuem succina gutta feram.
Sic modo quæ fuerat vitâ contempta manente,
  Funeribus facta est nunc pretiosa suis.

Lib. vi. epig. 15.

Whether Martial had sufficient physical knowledge, may still be matter of doubt; but a late writer (Forney, of the Academy at Berlin), who pursued his inquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

(*h*) The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway; and since they are mentioned as a people included in the general name of the Suevian nation an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube. The state of slavery, to which they submitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, because they were content to be slaves in a land of freedom; and they were sunk beneath the usual debasement of servitude, because they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies at Rome were, during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. From the expulsion of the Tarquin fa-

mily, no title alluding to the rank or employment of the husband, was annexed to the wife. There were no terms in the Latin language to signify *senatress*, *dictatress*, or even *empress*. When the fathers were willing to lavish titles and dignities on Livia, the mother of Tiberius, that politic prince restrained their zeal by reminding them, that it was a state maxim not to be prodigal of honours in favour of women. *Annals*, b. i. s. 14. Freinshemius, who, in his supplement to Livy, has given a description of Germany, is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which so pointedly proscribes the female reign. He says (b. civ. s. 21) that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen distinguished by her spirit of enterprise. He adds, that there has been a succession of other heroines, whose wisdom, magnanimity, and warlike achievements, the glory of the proudest monarch has not been able to surpass. But Freinshemius, it should be remembered, was historiographer to Christina, Queen of Sweden, and his work is dedicated to his royal mistress.

Section XLVI.

(*a*) The Peucinians, often known by the name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the Sinus Venedicus, now the gulf of Dantzig. When the German nations burst into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were also called Winedi, settled on vacant lands between the Vistula and the Elbe, and soon after crossed the Danube to plant themselves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola, near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Sclavonian, which subsists at this day. The Fennians are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

(*b*) Sarmatia (as has been mentioned s. 1. note *c*) was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains; b ut stil we find that towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was supposed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond the Vistula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers, upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, considered the Peucinians and Venedians as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident that, living beyond the Vistula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel, clearly demonstrate a German origin.

(*c*) The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany. The reader will find in Warnefrid's History (*De Gestis Langobard.* lib. v.) an account of the poverty and savage manners of these people, perfectly coinciding with what we are told by Tacitus. "The SCRITOFINNI (for so he calls the Fenni) are surrounded with snow in the midst of summer; and being in point of sagacity almost on a level with the brute creation, they live on the raw flesh of wild animals, and use the hide for their clothing. For the purpose of hunting the wild beasts they have the art of bending pieces of wood into the shape of a bow, and with these they spring and leap amidst the snows." Brotier sees in this account a resemblance of the snow shoes, or raquets, used by the North American savages. See Charlevoix, let. xiv.

(*d*) Having nothing, they were secure against the violence of men; and they had no reason to dread the vengeance of Heaven. Seneca has a similar sentiment. He says in commendation of poverty, What can be happier than that state, which promises perpetual liberty, without an idea of danger from man, without any thing to fear from the wrath of the Gods? *Quanto hoc majus est, quo promittitur perpetua libertas, nullius nec hominis nec Dei timor?* Epist. xvii. Delivered by their extreme poverty from all

apprehensions, this rude and simple people had no desires beyond their wretched condition: like Abdalominus the gardener, in Quintus Curtius, they had nothing, and they wanted nothing. *Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.*

The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean. But to amuse his readers with a fabulous narrative was not the design of such an author as Tacitus. He was not writing a romance. He meant to give, upon the fullest information, an authentic account of a people, whose fierce and unconquerable love of liberty was, as he says himself, more dangerous to the Roman empire than all the pomp and pride of oriental monarchs. He has accordingly left, in his Treatise of the Germans, a faithful picture of society in its wild, uncultivated state. His work, compendious as it is, may be fairly called the most precious monument of antiquity.

Some critics have imagined that the great author wrote from invention, intending, by a fictitious draught of savage manners, to give a political satire on the manners of the Romans, like the Gulliver of Swift. But in answer to those who, in this instance as well as many others, have suspected the fidelity of the historian, it may be asked, how it has happened, that the manners here delineated are a counterpart of the savage customs of Canada, and other parts of America? The same causes have produced the same effects in both parts of the world. It has been the scope of the foregoing notes to point out the similitude as often as it occurred. The likeness is so striking, that it serves to confirm the account given by Tacitus, and to prove, beyond a doubt, that he drew his colouring from nature, not from the storehouse of a lively imagination. The force of this argument was felt by Dr. Ro-

bertson; and he has accordingly formed a comparison between the ancient Germans and the savage tribes of America, which the reader will find, *Hist. of Charles V.* vol. i. p. 250.

It may be asked, in the second place, how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with so much certainty in all the countries of Europe? The answer is obvious. The descendants of those people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which sprung from the same source. The codes still extant, such as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently bespeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly shows from what soil it sprung. The michelgemote, or great meeting; the wittena-gemote, or meeting of the wise men; the shires, the hundreds, the composition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, as Tacitus expresses it, *nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas*, are manifest proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German ancestors for that free constitution, which for so many centuries has stood the shock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of destruction, still rears its head, the pride of every honest Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations:

——————— ruituraque semper
Stat, mirum! moles.

Sir William Blackstone, who knew how to be profound with ease and elegance, has truly said, If we would investigate the elements of the English laws, the originals should be traced to their fountains; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more especially, to those of the Saxon princes; but above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Western Orb. See vol. i. p. 36. The same observation has been made by Vertot with regard to the constitution of the French monarchy,

which stood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three estates, or general council of the realm, were merged in the supreme court of justice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curious parallel between the manners of the Franks and those of the ancient Germans, has clearly shown the origin of the French constitution. See three dissertations in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, vol. ii. 4to edit. Those pieces are a just commentary on Tacitus; and, if we add the laws and institutions of other parts of Europe, we shall be of opinion with Montesquieu, that "in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the "code of barbarian laws, and in the code we read Cæsar and "Tacitus."

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.